THE INFALLIBLE TRVE AND ASSVRED VVITCH:

OR,

THE SECOND EDITION, OF THE TRYALL OF *WITCH-CRAFT.*

SHEVVING THE RIGHT AND TRVE METHODE OF THE DISCOVERIE:

WITH A CONFVTATION OF ERRONEOVS VVAIES, CAREFVLLY REVIEWED AND more fully cleared and Augmented.

By IOHN COTTA, Doctor in Physicke.

LONDON,
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1624.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, SIR IAMES LEY KNIGHT and BARONET, Lord chiefe Iustice of *ENGLAND*, and to the rest of the Honourable, Right Reuerend and worthy Iudges.

RIGHT Honourable Lords, I formerly Dedicated a small Treatise vnto the Honourable Societie of the reuerend Iudges, who then filled the awfull seates of Law and Iustice. I aduenture the second time to present it, reuiewed, augmented, and cleared from some part of that darknesse which haply hath hitherto clouded it from bright acceptance. Information tending vnto truths discouerie, though from the meanest wit or person vnto your Lordships, cannot be vnacceptable, whom Law doth make the Sentensers of Trueth; which is the Soule and Sentense of the Law. The matter and subject propounded is not trifling or vnworthy, nor can be any disdaine vnto Noble greatneſſe,

neſſe; nor is vnto any Honourable order more proper then to your Lordſhips. Indeede the difficultie of the matter preſſeth a ſtudious conſideration, an orderly continuall linking and holding together of all materiall circumſtances vnto the maine ſcope, a faithfull and ſtrong memorie, quickneſſe of apprehenſion and ſolide iudgement, but in the end vnto ſuch as are induſtrious and deſirous of Trueth, will yeeld a delightfull and thanke-worthy compenſation thereof. I preſume not to direct or preſcribe, nor doe purpoſely oppoſe any other different opinion, but inoffenſiuely tender my owne vnto the publique good, and hauing meerely deuoted it vnto truth; doe humbly ſubmit it vnto your Lordſhips, the vowed Patrons of right and truth:

Your Lordſhips in all humble
dutie and deſire,

IOHN COTTA.

To

TO

THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE Sr. EDVVARD COKE Knight, Lord chiefe Iuſtice of ENGLAND, one of the Lords of His Maieſties moſt Honourable Priuie Councell, and to the reſt of the Honourable right Reuerend and worthy Iudges.

RIght Honourable Lords, where according vnto the direction of good lawes, gracious Soueraignes nobly rule, and loyall Subiects freely obey, there the Common-weale, which is the common good of both, produceth the moſt royall, happy and ſtable Monarchy. If euer any Kingdome hath beene fortunate, to giue a true mirror and example of this happineſſe, this famous Iſland hath beene therein incomparable, wherein ſo many puiſſant Monarchs, ſucceſſiuely ſwaying this Emperiall Diademe, according vnto the ancient Lawes and Cuſtomes of

 this

this Nation, haue so many hundreths of yeares gouerned this mighty people in peace and honour at home, and victoriously led them in triumphant warre abroad, as by the glorious trumpe of forreine and domesticke fame and Historie is not obscure. The splendor of this truth, the iniurious aspersion of insufficiencie in our Englisſh lawes, cannot without shame or blushing guilt behold. Notwithstanding, since in some few things to bee wanting, was neuer as yet wanting in the most exquisite lawes, Policie and State that euer hath beene, and since the Law of God in selfe (though perfect in it selfe) through humane imperfection in the true perfection was neuer yet seene, giue mee leaue through all lawes and Countries in one particular to wonder at their generall defect. What Law or Nation in the detection of Witches, and Witchcraft, hath as yet euer appeared competent, or from iust exception exempt? How vncertaine are among all people differing iudgements? Some iudge no Witches at all, others more then too many, others too few by many, in so opposite extreames, so extreamely opposite: I doe not presume to prescribe how a law may become more absolute or perfect, I onely labour & enquire to learne. Among many generall directions by different Authors, diuersly published, conceiuing the perfecting of particular lawes, (as farre as perfection is possible vnto humane frailty) *Demosthenes* in his second Oration against *Aristogiton*, in my thought doth seeme to equall (if not exceede) the most exquisite. Three things

things saith he (as may be plainely out of the forenamed place collected) doe concurre vnto the vpright constitution of euery complete law, whereby it may be held sacred and inuiolate. The first is, that it be εὕρημα μὲν καὶ δῶρον θεοῦ, that is, that it be the ordinance and gift of God. Secondly, that it be δόγμα φρονίμων ἀνθρώπων, that is, the sage and iudicious decree and counsell of the most wise and prudent. The third is, that it be πόλεως συνθήκαιον, that is, the vniuersall consent of the whole state, Citie or countrey. Certainly, the true cause of the forementioned generall lamenesse, and confusion of Lawes in the proposed case of Witch-craft consisteth herein. First, for that men haue not as yet sufficiently searched the holy Scriptures to finde out that εὕρημα τοῦ θεοῦ, that is, what is the ordinance of God therein. Secondly, for that men haue not seriously consulted with that wisedome and prudence, which by the light of nature and reason Almightie God hath left discouerable and allowed to be iustly and truly deemed δόγμα φρονίμων ἀνθρώπων that is, the sage counsell, determination and decree of the most iudicious, prudent and wise men.

When these two are met and are agreed; namely, the ordinance of God, and the vpright and sincere counsell of the most holy, prudent and wise men, purposely studied, and without superstition exercised therein: then will the happy harmony of all mens hearts become easily tunable thereto, which is, πόλεως συνθήκαιον, that is, the common consent of Prince, People, and Countrey. Vnto this faire

worke and building of God: let it not seeme presumption, that I offer this my Moytie of desire, and good will. I know that in this subiect, many ages of learned Authors, haue endlesly varied, many famous Writers haue bin branded with infamous errors, many excellent wits haue run themselues almost out of their wits, & those who haue best deserued, their trembling pens haue niggardly dropped, & timorously pointed out any fully, or firmely anouched certainty. It is notwithstanding no breach of rule of modesty, but my bounden duty, vnto the accomplishment and honour of truth, to adde whatsoeuer in my vtmost endeauour may be conducible. Neither would my many conflicts, with difficulties in this kinde, hold me excused, if so oft spurred, or rather galled, by so frequent exercise, practise and conuersation, with persons in so diuers extraordinary manners afflicted, and supposed bewitched, it should awake no answerable dispatch or display therein. Let it then seeme no wonder, that a man (though lesse then the least among men) who hath not onely as studiously as others laboured the same particular, and as diligently therein obserued, but hath farre more happily bin fortuned then others, with frequent matter, and occurrents worthy obseruation, and hath also beene more plentifully gratified with opportunitie, to inrich his vnderstanding with variety and worth of obiects, instructing his reason, and confirming his experience: Let it seeme no wonder (I say) that a meane wit, thus beyond others furnished thereto, may aduenture amiddest so

ſo many doubts and ambiguities, wherewith ſo many worthies haue been formerly intangled and perplexed, to auouch and prooue certainty, and demonſtration. In this ſubiect of Witch-craft, by better meanes aduantaged, if beyond former times or Writers, I haue haply propoſed a more direct and certaine Module and Methode of iudging therein, I doe not thereby arrogate vnto my ſelfe, but attribute vnto the meanes, nor derogate from others, whom if the like contingence of the ſame helpes, had as freely and friendly affronted, and the like facilitie had opened as ready acceſſe, I acknowledge in the guilty ſenſe of my owne exiguitie (whether in the outward beauty of words, or inward ſubſtance of vnderſtanding) it had beene eaſie for any man to exceed with ſo good meanes this ſo euill meaneneſſe of my performance. Since then (Right Honourable Lords) the ſubiect it ſelfe, and a pertinent and peculiar vſe therein, doe point vnto your Honours the propertie of this Dedication, vnto whoſe tribunall the Lawes of God and men appeale againſt that foule abominable ſinne, let it not be cenſured pride or preſumption, humbly to preſent vnto your Lordſhip that conſideration and reſolution which beyond my merit or deſert, Occurrents haue freely adminiſtred vnto long-diſtracted meditation. If there may appeare therein ought aduancing truth, or ſeruiceable vnto the Common-weale, vouchſafe for thoſe good reſpects, it may be gracious in your eyes, acceptable and worthy your noble fauours and protection,

against the iniuries of aduerse obdurate custome, ignorance, enuy, and the vulgar indignation of common receiued and deceiued opinion. In the meane season, my deuoted heart shall deuoutly pray vnto Almightie God for your Lordships long life, the multiplication of many happy daies, redoubled honour in your seruice of God, your King and Countrey, and after this life, that life which euer lasteth.

Your Lordships, in the most humble desire, and tender of his deuotious seruice and obseruance.

IOHN COTTA.

TO

To the Reader.

INgenious Reader, in this subiect of Witch-craft which I here present vnto thee, thou art not ignorant, what obscuritie, difficultie, difference, contrarietie and contradiction hath among Authors and learned men in all ages arisen. From the effusion of generall ignorance, or superstitious blindnesse herein, willing to withdraw the vulgar illusion; I haue endeauoured Demonstratiuely to declare what portion of some more certainty in such vncertainties, God & Nature hath destined and allowed. It is not any worth either arrogated vnto my selfe, or derogated from others, but my studious desire and vehement affection in this particular, together with some speciall experience and paines vpon diuers occurrents, and occasions extraordinarily happning, that hath drawne me forth to offer my opinion as the widdowes mite, more haply in good will, and hearty affection, then in true value or deserued esteeme. If it may only giue occasion vnto a more exquisite pensell, it is the height of my intention, and a complete recompence of my endeauour. For this cause, and for common ease reading and apprehension, I haue purposely auoided, and discontinued the smooth thrid of a continued laborious stile, and haue for the most part preferred and inserted a plaine texture, of a more vulgar and carelesse phrase and word. The enuious haply may cauill, that

that a Physition out of his owne supposed precincts, should rush into sacred lists, or enter upon so high points of Diuinitie, as by an vnauoidable intercurrence, doe necessarily insert themselues in this proposed subiect. Diuinitie it selfe doth herein answer them. In the theory of Theologie, it is the dutie and praise of euery man, to be without curiositie fruitfully exercised.

For as touching matter of Diuinitie, as it falleth out, or is incident in the discourse of this small Treatise, I onely propound such reasons and considerations therein, as in common are allowable and commendable in euery Christian man, and therein I doe neither vsurpingly controule others, nor controulingly conclude my selfe, but willingly submit vnto the graue censure and dictature of the learned and reuerend Diuine. If therefore (good Reader,) I haue here published or communicated vnto thee ought thankes-worthy, as it is by me freely intended vnto thee; so let it not from me be vnfriendly extended by thee. If I haue in ought erred, let it be thy praise and goodnesse to make thy vse thereof without abuse. If thou hast formerly thought amisse, and doest here reade that is more right, be not ashamed to acknowledge thy better knowledge. If thou list not to know, then know, that truth shall iudge thee, and iustifie her selfe without thee.

Thy well-willing friend.

IOHN COTTA.

THE

The Printer to the Reader.

THE Author perceiving his former Tractate or first edition thereof, either not diligently read, or not truly by many men understood, he hath now by a second edition thereof offered more ease and light vnto such as are willing to search after truth, both by the addition of many things before omitted, as also by this plaine direction vnto all the most speciall points in the whole Treatise, as follow eth.

The contents of the first Chapter.

1. *How Knowledge doth come vnto man.*
2. *How mans Knowledge is confined and limited.*

CHAP. II.

1. *That many things are hidden from the Knowledge of all men indifferently by the decree of God and Nature.*
2. *That many things are revealed vnto the industrious learned, which are hidden from the slothfull and vnlearned.*

CHAP. III.

That Witchcraft cannot bee discovered or knowne, but by the common waies and meanes of all other Knowledge and discovery.

CHAP. IIII.

1. *The Knowledge and power of Spirits, how exceeding the Knowledge and power of man.*
2. *Good Spirits and evill Spirits how discerned.*

CHAP. V.

That the divell doth and can worke alone without the association of a Witch.

CHAP. VI.

1 *The Diuell associating with a Witch.*

2. *A Witch apparently discouered by the Conduct of the outward sense, and testimony thereof.*

3. *That the Diuell playeth the Iugler in many things, seeming to raise the dead, to transforme into Cats or Dogs or other Creatures, to present the same body in two distant places at the same time.*

4. *The difference betweene things meerely imagined or fancied, and things really offered vnto the outward sense truly discerned.*

5. *That which is supernaturall or spirituall, may be discouered by the outward sense.*

6. *How the counterfeit miracles of the diuell may be discerned from the true miracles of God.*

CHAP. VII.

1. *An assured Witch by euidence of reason conuinced.*

2. *All Spirits that are enquired at, are Diuels.*

3. *Witches may be detected by professedly vndertaking, and vpon promise or couenant performing reuelations and discoueries aboue the power and knowledge of man.*

4. *All men in whom the Diuell doth exercise supernaturall workes or miracles, or by whom he doth vtter supernaturall reuelations, are not simply therefore by necessary consequent of reason to be esteemed Witches but with some few considerations which therewith conioyned and dewly weighed may infallibly proue their guilt thus: He that vndertaketh reuelations or workes which are truly found supernaturall, and cannot either proue them to be of God, nor to be imposture, nor to be imposed vpon him by the Diuell without his will, allowance, and liking thereof, that man by certaine Demonstration is a Witch or Sorcerer. What Witchcraft is, manifestly described.*

CHAP. VIII.

1. *The diuers kinds and manners wherein Witches receiue knowledge from spirits, as Astrologers, as Wizards, as Phisitions.*

That

That the Diuell can both inflict diseases, and cure where God permitteth.

CHAP. IX.

That since Impostors doe counterfeit Witches, and vnder colour of impostures, Witches may haue their discouery, it is fit that diligently the Magistrate inquire into Impostors.

CHAP. X.

1. Whether the diseased are bewitched, When and how it is certainely to be knowne, when not, and when men ought to rest satisfied in receiuing satisfaction therein.
2. The markes of Witches vulgarly reported, and by oth deposed to be found on their bodies, how to be tried and knowne from all natural diseases, among which many are very like vnto them.
3. The necessitie of consulting with the Physitian not only therein, but in all diseases supposed to be inflicted by the Diuell.
4. How farre the vulgarly esteemed confession of a supposed Witch is of validitie to proue her a Witch.

CHAP. XI.

That Witches may be produced vnto the barre of Iustice two waies, first for manifest workes of Sorcery witnessed by the sense: secondly, for reuelations about the possibility and power of them.

CHAP. XII.

1. Presumption and probabilities against suspected Witches.
2. That Witchcraft is a fact or crime which ought to be detected by testimony and by manifestation thereof to sense or reason.

CHAP. XIII.

That men ought not to seeke the discouery of Witches by vnwarrantable meanes voide of reason, or superstitious.

CHAP. XIV.

Casting Witches into the water, scratching, tearing, Whether any allowable triall of a Witch.

CHAP. XV.

1. That reuelations by the bewitched in their fits or trances are no sufficient proofe against a Witch.
2. That the declaration by the bewitched of secret markes in the bodies of inspected Witches are not infallible to be admitted to any true or allowable conclusion.
3. That the hearing of the bewitched by the compelled touch or

action

action of the supposed Witch is no reasonable accusation against any man, as therefore a Witch.

4. *That there is no more necessitie of a miraculous detection of Witchcraft then of any other as hideous and abominable sinne.*

5. *That the miracles and detections of crying and hideous sinnes by visions and apparitions cannot certainly or assuredly be manifested to be of God, and therefore simply in themselves, though revealing truth they are not to be trusted or credited alone, but so farre forth as they doe point vnto or occasion iust and reasonable inquisition.*

The conclusion of the whole Treatise inferring the two sorts of manifest Witches generally thorow the whole worke intended and by Demonstration made evident, to be the same, against whom the Law of God was directed, as also that there is no other triall of those Witches, but the meanes and waies in this Treatise before mentioned.

TO

THE TRIALL OF WITCH-CRAFT:

Shewing, the true and right Methode of the Discouerie.

CHAP. I.

Of naturall knowledge, and how it is solely acquired, either by Sense, or Reason, or by artificiall and prudent constitution.

AS there is one onely Infinite, which hath created all things finite: so is there one onely finite, most neerely like vnto that Infinite, which is wisedome and knowledge in men & Angels. The knowledge which is giuen to Angels, is only known to God & Angels. The knowledge which is giuen to man, is knowne by man, limited, measured and confined. It is therefore by the most wise Philosophers and fathers of former times, & the Sages of later times and ages agreed, by a generall consent & harmony of the same truth, that all things which are allotted man to know or vnderstand, are by two waies, or instruments solely to be atchiued or hoped. The first of these is the inward vnderstanding: the second is the outward sense. The vnderstanding hath knowledge diuers waies. First immediatly, by an inbred Idea & vnderstanding of certaine generall notions common vnto all men,

Scalig. de Subtil. Exercit 107. sect. 22.

men, and in them, and with them borne. This, though intellectuall, may bee in some sort assimulated vnto that naturall instinct in bruit creatures; by which, when they come first into the world, yet immediately by the direction of Nature, they refuse, and flie from that which is euill and harmefull, and seeke and know that which is needfull vnto their life and preseruation. Secondly, the vnderstanding hath knowledge by ratiociation, by the discourse and vse of reason. By this ratiocination, we doe in many things gaine a [b] certainety of knowledge; in other some a probability and likelihood onely of certainety, yet oft-times in a very great neerenesse [c] and affinitie with certaintie. Knowledge likewise commeth by the outward senses, which doe certainely and vndoubtedly informe the vnderstanding concerning their seuerall proper obiects, where the facultie is found, and the instruments of sense, and the outward meanes of conueyance are rightly disposed.

Among these fiue senses, the sight and hearing, the eye and eare, are the most excellent and chiefe wayes of multiplication and increase of naturall knowledge. Besides these wayes of knowledge; namely, the inward and the outward sense, there neuer was, nor euer can be enumeration of any other. For this cause the Philosophers haue diuided all things that are incident vnto mankinde, to know or vnderstand; either vnto such things as immediatly [d] in their very first thought or mention do proue themselues, & at the first consideration or sight are euident vnto all men; or such as are directly inferred and necessarily proued by other propositions, or such as by prudent ghesse onely and likely coniecture giue a faire probability of truth and certainty. Such things as immediatly proue themselues, and are vndoubted, in their first view, are subiect either to the sense onely, or vnto the vnderstanding onely. Such things as are only proper to the sense, and thereto immediatly and properly subiect, are things seene, heard, touched, tasted, smelt; as colours, figures, lineaments, sounds, musike, hardnesse, softnes, drines, moisture, roughnesse, smoothnesse, sowre, sweete, diuersity of odours

b Omnis syllogismus, vel regularis, & recta ratiocinatio est vel demonstratiua, vel dialectica. Aristot. lib. Analyt.

c Dialecticus syllogismus, vel ratiocinatio ex propositionibus Dialecticis, vel probabilibus, licet non certa vt demonstratiuus, syllogismus, tamen vera indicia constituit, ideoque est verarum opinionum fons, Aristot. ibid.

d Hinc Syllogismi perfecti & imperfecti ratio ex Aristot.

odours and the like: in which, without the vse of the fiue sen-
ses, men cannot be sensible or know any thing in this infe-
riour world vnder the heauens. Such things as are subiect vn-
to the vnderstanding onely, and not vnto the sense, and im-
mediatly proue themselues, are generall notions and recep-
tions, inseparably fixed in the vnderstanding of all men. Of
this kind are these positions in Philosophie. All things that
are made, haue their matter, a out of which they were made, a Materiam.
haue their speciall formes and difference, by which they are Formam.
a part that they are: and lastly to that being, which they are, Principium.
are risen from that which they were not. Likewise, these po-
sitions in Logicke: Euery proposition is true or false, affir-
matiue or negatiue, and extendeth generally vnto all vnder
these fiue kinde, or to some particulars, or to a singular, or is
indefinite. Likewise, in Arithmaticke these: One is no num-
ber, one cannot be diuided, or is indiuisible; foure is more
then two. Likewise, in Physike these: Euery man is sicke or
healthfull, or a neuter: Contraries are cured by contraries,
as heat by cooling, cold by heating, moysture by drying,
drynesse by moysting. As in these named Sciences, so in all
other: there are the like generall notions, immediatly at the
first view prooving themselues vnto the vnderstanding; and
euery man in common sense and reason, immediatly consen-
teth vnto their truth; and he that denieth it, or seeketh
proofe therof, is esteemed iustly madde, or voyd of reason.

There are other things also subiect vnto the vnderstan-
ding onely, which do not immediatly vpon the first-view or
consideration (as the former) proue themselues, but are pro-
ued by others more cleere and euident then themselues: as
this proposition. The motion of the heauens is not infinite.
This is not manifest vnto euery man at first view, but requi-
reth another more manifest then it selfe, to make it manifest
thus: That which hath a certaine limitted course, circum-
uolution and motion, cannot be infinite; but Astronomie for
many thousands of yeares hath discouered the courses, peri-
ods, reuolutions, and set perambulations of the heauens, and
therefore the motions of the heauens cannot be infinite. It

may here easily be obserued, how the first position being vnable to proue it selfe, another more manifest doth giue it light, and doth deduce it vnto that, which doth so immediately proue it selfe vnto common sense, and reason, and obseruation of all ages and times, that no idiot can be ignorant, or will deny it.

Thus hath bin manifested, how some things are immediatly vnderstood in the very first consideration & view: some are proued by themselues, some not proued by themselues, but made euident by others. As many things are in the former kinds & seuerall maners manifested, and euidently proued vnto reason, sense, or vnderstanding: so are there many things neither by themselues nor by other euident, neither to the vnderstanding and reason, or to the outward sense at the first apparent, but remaine ambiguous and doubtfull. In these things certainty of knowledge by manifest proofe failing, there remaineth no other refuge, but prudent and artificial coniecture, narrowly looking & searching thorow probabilities, vnto the neerest possibilitie of truth & certainty.

Fom hence doe arise excellent vses and benefits vnto vnderstanding, though not so farre forth ofttimes gained, as is desired vnto all priuate ends, yet so farre forth, as maketh wise and vnderstanding men excell and shine before others. Hence it commeth to passe that in doubtfull cases, counsels and attempts, one man is seene and knowne to ouershine an other, as much as the glorious Sunne doth his ecclipsed sister, the Moone. Hence haue issued so many noble and heroike Vertues; Sagacitie, exquisitnesse of iudgement, Prudence, Art, in the administration of high affaires. For, although in probabilities are no euident certainties, yet doe they so farre forth oft-times aduantage and aduance vnto the knowledge of certainety, that it is almost equall vnto certainty, and doth perswade and settle discreete resolution, and disposition in all affaires. In this consisteth the height, the tope, the som of Art, and the perfection of all humane knowledge, aboue or beyond which, no man could euer soar or leuell. By this light onely the former mentioned meanes

failing,

failing, is oft times gained much excellence of natural knowledge to man, beyond and without which the eye and sight of knowledge in man is sealed vp, his vnderstanding darkned, and cannot know many hidden things. And thus to him that rightly doth meditate and consider, it is vndoubtedly cleere and certaine, how the Creator and infinite Prince of all principles hath founded the beginning & end, the power and *posse* of all knowledge, vpon one of the former waies of investigation, beside which there is no naturall knowledge to be expected. Philosophie as yet neuer found other* waies vnto that infinite number of all Arts and Sciences, so admirably flourishing thorow so many ages of the world. For this cause the most excellent & prime Philosopher, *Aristotle*, reiecteth whatsoeuer cannot be found by Sense, or proued by reason, as spurious. Likewise *Ptolomie* hath bounded the true Art of Astronomie within *sarum Physicum*, within a necessitie in Nature, and to distinguish it from superstition (wherwith curiositie vsually defileth or intangleth it) doth limit it *intra conuenientem naturæ modum*, that is, within proportion and measure answerable to Reason and Nature. For this cause also, all true Philosophers haue determined the two onely instruments of all true Arts, to bee Reason and experience, which *Galen* doth call the two legges whereupon the Art of Physike doth consist. And therefore in the second chapter of his *Finitiones medicæ*, he saith, *Optimus is est Medicus, qui omnia in Medicina recta agit ratione*, that is, hee who doth all things in his subiect of Physike, according to right rule of reason, is the most excellent Physicion.

* Quod non est secundum naturam, non cognoscitur a scientia. Arist. Anal. poster.

From hence also all true Artists haue defined Art to bee, *Habitus cum ratione factiuus*, that is, a settled habilitie, and promptnesse of action, and operation according to reason. Vpon this ground others haue built other true rules and obseruations, concerning true and lawfull Arts. Therefore (saith *Galen*) *ars non est ex iis quorum nequiquam est potestas, Isagog. chap.* 5. that is, Art is not of such things as cannot be accomplished. Which is worthy noting, to distinguish prestigious and supposed Arts from true Art. To this o-

thers likewise haue added another obseruation, that is; that Art is imployed about such things as are in reason profitable and not vaine. So saith *Scaliger, exercit.* 37 *Sect.* 31. *Ars non est de rebus inutilibus.* It is yet further obserued vpon the same ground, that true Art doth not confound or cloud it selfe in mists, but reduceth vnto order, light and reason, things dissipate, confused, and out of order and reason (as *Cicero* affirmeth) *Artes diuulsas dissolutasque conglutinat, & ratione quadam constringit.* Vpon the same grounds diuers renowmed common weales haue expelled all false and forged Arts: as, *Necromancy, Aeromancy, Geomancy*, with other sortiligous Diuinations. Vpon the same reasons, diuers Emperors, Kings, Kingdomes and Lawes, haue exploded, censured, and condemned all such as vnder pretext of the wholesome Arts of Astronomy, Mathematikes, and the like, haue runne into foolish curiosities, impostures, and deceitfull practises. *Iustinian* the Roman Law-giuer and Emperour, his lawes are extant to this purpose. Likewise *Tiberius* his Decrees for the expulsion of counterfeit *Mathematicians* and *Magicians*. And *Tzetzes* in his booke *de Mathematicis & Maleficis*, testifieth the publication of their goods, and their inhibition by the Emperours from communion with other Citizens so much as in fire or water. And as Reason, good Lawes, Kingdomes, Nations, and Common-weales haue distinguished ingennous, liberall, true and profitable Artes, and Sciences builded vpon reason, trueth and vnderstanding; from base, ignoble, vnprofitable, needlesse, curious, and erronious Artes: so hath the holy Scripture both iustified, sanctified, and commended the one, and condemned, and nominated with rebuke and shame the other. The first is euident, *Exod.* 3. *verse* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. where Almightie God doth testifie concerning the knowledge and skill of workmanship in gold, siluer, and stone, that hee gaue it by his Spirit vnto *Bezaleel*, and *Aholiab*, who were workmen according to knowledge and vnderstanding in that lawfull Art, profitable vnto the building of Gods house. The second

cond is manifest, *Actes 19. verse 19.* where it is in their due commendations recorded, that those who before vsed and practised vaine and curious Arts, when they were by the preaching of the Apostles truely conuerted, in token of their vndissembled repentance, they absolutely renounced and disclaimed their vaine learning, and openly burnt their bookes, though valued at an high rate and rich prices.

CHAP. II.

That no Knowledge can come vnto man in any Art or Science; but by Sense or Reason, or likely and artificiall coniecture, is proued by the Science and Knowledge of Physike in stead of all other Arts and Sciences.

NOw for the better impression of that which hath beene before said: that is, that nothing is or can bee detected, or is liable vnto mans knowledge, which commeth not vnto him by the helpe of Reason, the inward or the outward Sense, Demonstration, Ratiocination, or iudicious and prudent Coniectation in reasonable likelihood: let vs examine any one particular, ingenuous, liberall or lawfull Art or Science, in stead of many, and therein view, how by the former mentioned keyes, doores and entrances solely, are opened the wayes vnto their contemplations, study, and perfect apprehension. And if one Art or Science may bee sufficient herein, I thinke it most fit to choose my owne, because as to my selfe most prompt; so vnto any other not vnprofitable. All diseases that happen vnto the body of man are either outward or inward, and therefore either seene by the eye, and deprehended by the outward Sense, or conceiued onely by Reason and the inward Vnderstanding. Inward diseases, and subiect onely vnto reason and vnderstanding doe sometimes appeare clearely and certainely to reason and vnderstanding; sometimes they doe not appeare certaine, or by certaine notes or signes, but by likely markes onely, which are the grounds of artificiall coniecture. And

And as some diseases are apparent to outward sense, some euident to inward reason, some by artificiall coniecture onely in learned, exact search and perquisition pursued vnto their discouery: so also are many diseases hidden from all these wayes of inuestigation, and therefore remaine as remembrances of mans manifold ignorance in this life, and of the secret reseruation of Gods decree and prohibition. As then in those diseases which are apparent vnto sight, it is blindnesse in a Physicion to make question; in those which are euident to reason, to make doubt, is reasonlesse fatuitie; in those which may be attained by artificiall coniectation, search or perquisition, either to be slacke, is sloth, or to bee vnable, is insufficiencie: so in those diseases, which neither outward sense, nor inward reason, nor Art, nor artificiall coniecture can possibly discouer; to hope or seeke beyond Sense and Reason, and reasonable likelihood, is reasonlesse and senselesse striuing, and impatience of those bounds which God hath set to limit the curiositie of man. For better proofe and illustration, it will not bee impertinent to nominate some particuler diseases in all these kinds. First for outward diseases, and such as are euident to outward sense, they are infinite. Who that is the least practised in Physicke, doeth not assuredly know, when, with his eyes hee doeth behold an inflammation, a Schirrus, a Gangrene, Cancer, Callus, Fistula, Vlcer, Leprosie, Psora, Struma, Petechia, Variola, Iaundes, Gout, Tabescence, Extenuation, and the like. Secondly, for inward diseases euident to reason; he that is least learned, doth know that all diseases which may be defined, must necessarily be euident to reason; as also, that it is not difficult to define innumerable diseases to him that is able to* conioine with the part affected, the true immediate kinde of the affection. The stomacke ceasing her proper function of concoction, or depriued of appetite, doth it not thereby manifestly prooue vnto reason some inward ill affection therein? If with that ill affection bee ioyned a manifest inward heate about the region of the stomacke, accompanied with an

* Genui morbi proximum, cum vnita affecta coniunctum constituit morbi, spectem.

an Ague, drinesse, thirst and other accidents, and conse quences of heate, is not as plainely detected the kinde of the affection to be hot?

Thus both the part affected, which is the stomacke apparently, (because there the former accidents are found originally mooving and first seated,) and also the ill affection (which by the manifest burning heate doth prooue her kinde) being both conioyned, doe truely define the disease to bee an inflammation of the stomacke. The like may bee saide of the inflammations of all other inward parts of Plurisies, Phrensies, inflammation of the Liuer, Spleene, Wombe, Reines, Guts and other parts, the certaine testimonies of excesiue heate giuing demonstration of an inflammation, and the paine (or at least, some defect) or defection in the proper offices of the parts manifesting the parts themselues. As concerning inward inflammations of diuers parts, so likewise of inward Vlcers, and other maladies may be instanced. The disease of the bladder is oft certainly knowne, by paine in the part, or by cessation of his proper functions, or defection therein, and the kinde of disease therein by the excretions oft-times proceeding from it. And thus an Vlcer is oft discouered in the bladder, by paine, with purulent and sanguiuolent miction. Diseases likewise of the head are certainly discouered and detected vnto reason, by defects growing; sometimes in the vnderstanding, sometimes in the memory, sometimes in the imagination, sometimes in all those together, & sometimes in the general motion of the whole body. Diseases of the heart likewise, appeare by the euill and faulty motions of the pulse, by soundings and defections in liuelihood of the spirits and vitall faculty. Diseases of the Wombe or Mother likewise doe oft demonstrate themselues by depriued or depraued motions. It were tedious to make a particular enumeration of all diseases of this kinde, which are in the same manner euident and apparent vnto reason.

Now let vs briefly also consider some diseases, which are neither euident to Reason, nor manifest to Sense; but are gained, detected, and hunted out of their deepe and hidden

couerts, by the quicke and exquisite sent of probable and artificiall coniecture; the necessity or vse whereof, either in an ambiguous complication of doubtfull diseases, or in the extrication of any intricate single affection or malady, there is no man in Physicke exercised, who doth not dayly finde. Many examples of diseases of this kinde would cause the small body of this little worke voluminously to swell: we will therefore onely propose one.

Let vs suppose a sicke man, doubtfully and diuersly with these accidents afflicted: namely, a continuall feuer, a cough, spitting of blood, shortnesse of winde, head-ache, deliration, want of sleepe, drinesse, thirst, paines in diuers parts, sides, ribbes, backe and belly: What disease or diseases here are, can neither be manifest to sense, distracted in this confusion, multitude and concurrence of accidents; nor yet be euident to reason at the first view, because it requireth so different consideration, and deuided contemplation of so many seuerals apart. Here then it remaineth, that learned, iudicious, prudent, and discreete artificiall coniecture proceed exactly to distinguish & analise, as followeth. All the forenamed paines, distempers and accidents may indifferently arise, eyther from the Lungs inflamed, or the Liuer, or the Midriffe, or the Pleura; because any one of these by it selfe doth vsually bring forth all, or most part of them. Heere then prudent, artificiall, and exquisite perpension doth exactly valew and esteeme all the different manners, quantities, qualities, positions and situations of paines; likewise accidents, motions, times, manners of motion, caracters, orders, and all other both substantiall and circumstantiall considerations.

And first, as touching the feuer, head-ache, thirst, idlenes of braine (because they are common to many other diseases besides these, and require no curious, but a more careless and common respect,) prudent and circumspect coniectation doth leaue their needlesse confusion of more vsefull and needfull perpension, and doth more narrowly search about those accidents, which are more inseparable, proper and peculiar vnto the diseases named, and by exact disquisition

diſquiſition in their differencies, doth notwithſtanding ſift out their hidden and ſecretly couched differencies, by which, in exact view they are found and diſtinguiſhed ſufficiently differing. The inſeparable accidents which doe peculiarly, or for the moſt part accompany the diſeaſes before named, that is, the inflammation of the Lungs, the Liuer, the Midriffe and the Pleura, are cough, ſhortneſſe of winde, ſpitting of blood, paines about the ribbes, ſides, belly, which in all theſe named diſeaſes, more or leſſe are preſent, either primarily, or by conſent of one part with another. Theſe, though ſeldome abſent from moſt of the foure former diſeaſes, and therefore not eaſily diſtinguiſhed, when they proceede from th'one or th'other; yet rightly weighed, and accurately conſidered in their ſeuerall manners, meaſures, and right poſitions in euery one, when apart and ſingle, they doe likewiſe in their confuſed mixture one with another, yeeld diſtinct and ſeuerall difference to him, that in a iudicious and diſcerning thought, doth beare their iuſt diſtinctions apart. For illuſtration, ſpitting of blood is vſually a companion to all, or moſt of the foure named diſeaſes; but in one in leſſe quantity, in another more; in one after one manner, in another after another; in one by vomiting, in another by expectoration, and in another by coughing; in one with much expuition, in another with little; in one with danger of ſtrangulation and ſuffocation, in another without; in one with thickneſſe, blackneſſe, and ſmall quantity of bloud, in another with thinneſſe, brightneſſe of colour, and more quantity; and in one of theſe alſo with leſſe, and in another with more difficulty and labour. Shortneſſe of winde, or difficulty of breathing, is a common companion to all the named diſeaſes; but in one with frequent expuition, in another without, and where, with expuition, in one with more facility, in another with difficulty, in one with one manner of diſtenſion of the inſtruments of reſpiration, in another with another, in one kinde of difficulty of reſpiration more frequent, in another leſſe, in one more grieuous, in another tolerable.

The like may be ſaid of coughing, and paines. Coughing in one of the forenamed diſeaſes is with much, in another with little, and in another with no expuition at all; in one continuall, in another with intermiſſion; in one with intenſion, in another with remiſsion; in one loud, in another ſtill; and where, with expectoration, in one of one colour and quantity, in another of another, and in another of none at all; in one eaſie, gentle, free and without paine, in another, grieuous and painfull; yea ſuffocatory, and neere to ſtrangle. Paine likewiſe is a common companion to all the mentioned diſeaſes; but diſtinguiſhed in the one and the other, by the manner, nature, and ſituation of the ſeuerall parts, which apart in euery one it poſſeſſeth, and alſo by the different oddes, faſhions, and kindes of paine; ſome being ſharp, ſome dull, ſome quicke, ſome ſlowe, ſome with diſtenſion, ſome with punction, ſome with heauineſſe and ſenſible weight, ſome more grieuous to the Patient lying, ſome to him ſitting or ſtanding, ſome more calme in one poſition of the body, and ſome in another.

And thus prudent an skilfull coniecture, by due and diligent perpenſion, comparing together oddes, and exactly referring vnto true diſcerning the ſeuerall properties and differences of accidents, their manner proportions, and other due circumſtances, doth in the end reduce euery accident to his right diſeaſe, and euery diſeaſe to his right cauſe; whereby the prudent, and iudicious Phyſicion doth cleerly vnderſtand directly and timely to apply proper and pertinent remedies. And thus in doubtfull caſes, which are neither euident to Reaſon, nor manifeſt to Senſe in the Art and exerciſe of Phyſike, it is manifeſt how ſolert and accurate conſectation, through the clouds and miſts of ambiguities, doth in the end ſo cleerely ſend forth and giue ſo faire a light, that doubt it ſelfe doth become out of doubt, and is little inferiour vnto certaine and plaine demonſtration. As a ſhort ſumme of all that hath been ſaid, whatſoeuer hath beene declared of diſeaſes, the ſame may bee propounded concerning their iſſues very briefely.

The

The issues of all diseases are either informed from Sense, or euident by reason, or scrutable by artificiall coniecture. Examples of the first kinde are manifest, when with our eyes we behold the motion and Sense externall and other outward functions of the body, either abolished, or in an high degree depriued of their power and naturall vse.

This certaine testimony of our sight doth certainely informe the vnderstanding, concerning the dangerous issue.

Examples of the second kinde are manifest likewise, when we finde either the causes of diseases vnremoueably fixed, or the disease it selfe rooted in the substance of any of the principall parts, or accidents in malignitie, vehemence, and fury irresistable. In these cases a doubtfull and hard issue is euident to Reason by iust consequent.

Examples of the latter kind are also apparent, when in diseases, good and euill signes are so doubtfully mixed, that some promise Life, others as much threaten Death: some in number discourage, other some in worth as much as incourage. We doe oft see and know in the middest of this mist and darknes, where there appeareth not to a common sense so much as the least shew of any indication of certaine issue; yet through the exquisiteneſſe of prudent & artificiall perpension, and due ex: & distinction in the forementioned seeming inscrutable oddes; the learned Physicion euen in the first scarce sensible budding of indication, and in the first most imperfect and scarce being thereof doth oft discouer that true euent, which vsually and for the most part is seene and obserued to come to passe.

If any man not rightly apprehending reason, make a doubt or question of any such possible exquisitnes, let him consider and behold it by an easie example. In an inequalitie of one and the same Vermiculant pulse, where the beginning of the same distension is quicker, the next continuation or middle part is slower, and the beginning of the end thereof ending almost before it begin: it must needes be very difficult, nay, almost impossible vnto the first view of Sense or Reason, or to a common iudgement or learning,

to diuide really, and distinguish this one short small motion into two or three distinct times and parts of motion, the space so very short, the faculty of mouing so low and weake, and the mouing it selfe almost altogether in an insensible exiguitie, and an indiuisible degree of lownesse.

We see oft-times a common vulgar cannot in his reason conceiue it, much lesse by his sense at all perceiue it. Neither is it found easie to euery man, though learned therein, yea, or educate thereto, either perfectly to apprehend the generall Idea of such a motion, or at all in the first proofes and tryals of his sense or hand to deprehend any particular. Notwithstanding, the Physicion that exquisitely discerneth and iudgeth, doth both in reason see, that euery single smallest motion, hath his diuers distinct diuision of parts, & also by his discerning, wary, iudicious and exercised touch, doth apartly detect and discouer it: And thus hath been proued by seuerall instances taken in the art of Physicke, in steade of all other Arts and Sciences, for auoiding tediousnesse and confusion, that all knowledge, all Art, all Science whatsoeuer giuen vnto man, hath no other entrance, meanes or wayes thereto, but thorow Sense or Reason, or prudent and artificiall coniecture, sagacitie and exquisitenesse of iudging and discerning thereby.

And that it may the better appeare, that beyond these wayes an illights, the Physicion cannot finde any knowledge or discouery of Diseases: let vs view some particular examples of some Diseases for this cause vndiscouerable and not to be detected: and therewith consider the impossibilitie of discouery to consist solely herein; namely, for that they are remoued from any capacitie of Sense or Reason, and from the reach of all artificiall search, scrutiny & accurate insight deriued from both, which is the highest straine of humane Vnderstanding. In the generall it cannot be denied (except of such whose vnderstandings are extremely blinde) that it is impossible, that those diseases should or can bee at all so much as suspected (and therefore much lesse knowne) which yeeld no shew, no signe, no indication of themselues. There needeth

needeth hereof no other, nor better proofe, then the enumeration of some particular diseases of this kinde.

Are not diuers secret and hidden Apostemations, and other inward collections of vicious matter in the body, daily Seminaries of vnexpected and wondred shapes of corruption and putrifaction, which lying long hidden in the body, and by an insensible growth taking deepe roote, in the end sodainely breake forth beyond all possible expectation, or thought of the most excellent, exquisite and subtill circumspection and disquisition? For a briefe confirmation hereof, *Hollerius* doth mention a man, the cause of whose disease while he liued, being vnknowne to Physicions, and Art, after his decease his guts were found gangrened and perished, and therein things viewed like vnto Water-snakes, and his Liuer full of schirrose knots.

There happened vnto my selfe this yeare last past, a Patient, a very worthy Gentleman, who being extreamely vexed with the Strangury, Disurie, and Ischurie together with pissing of blood in great abundance, and the stone, by the ease and accommodation of remedies, found much ease, mitigation of paines, and qualification of the extremitie of all the former accidents. Notwithstanding, for that there were certaine indications of an Vlcer in the body or capacitie of the Bladder, his recouerie was not expected, but after his decease, in the dissection of his body, his Bladder was found rotten, broken and black, without any manifest matter therein as cause thereof, or so much as one stone, although hee had formerly and immediately before auoided many stones at seuerall times. This I produce, being fresh in memory, as an instance of impossibilitie of knowledge vnto a Physicion in many and frequent cases. For how could the fracture or colour of his Bladder, while the Patient was liuing, by any exquisitenesse of Art or vnderstanding, be knowne in any possibilitie, meanes, or power of man, although all the other accidents aboue mentioned, were vndoubtedly, by certaine indications and signes discouered? I might here deliuer many other like Examples

out

out of mine owne knowledge; I will onely call to remembrance one more.

I was of late yeares Phyſicion vnto a right Noble Lady; the cauſe of whoſe apparent dangerous eſtate, diuers learned and famous Phyſicions conioyned with my ſelfe, could neuer diſcouer. In the diſſection of her body after her deceaſe, her heart was found incloſed with a ſhining rotten gelly, and the very ſubſtance of the heart of the ſame colour.

In the ſame Lady, an intolerable paine about the bottome of her ſtomack, by fits depriued her of all eaſe by day, and of reſt by night, and could neuer be either knowne in the cauſe, or remooued in the accident by any meane or remedy: but after death, in the diſſection of her body before mentioned, a black round gelly as bigge as a Tennice ball, did manifeſt it ſelfe in that place, where, in her life, the intolerable paine was ſeated and fixed.

Of this euill diſcoloration of her heart, of the matter and euill colour of that matter wherewith her heart was inuironed; as alſo of that collected gelly in her ſtomacke, what poſſible knowledge (thinke you) or exquiſite vnderſtanding, or art of man could euer in her life time giue any notice or information? Like vnto this is that which *Hollerius* in the 21. of his rare obſeruations doth mention. In a ſicke man perplexed in a ſtrange manner from an vnknowne cauſe in his life, after his death his liuer and epiploon did appeare corrupted and putrified, his ſtomacke toward the bottome bruiſed and full of blacke iuice or humour. *Chriſtophorus Scheillincus*, opening the body of a childe after death, reporteth, that hee ſaw in the ſmall veines, running thorow the ſubſtance of the liuer, many ſmall ſcrauling wormes then liuing. *Beniuenius* doth make mention of a woman tormented grieuouſly by a needle in her ſtomack, which was impoſſible by any art or exquiſitneſſe of vnderſtanding to bee conceiued or ſuſpected, if nature it ſelfe working it out thorow the body and ſubſtance of the ſtomacke, vnto the outward view and Senſe, had not ſo diſcouered

uered it. I will not here mention the generation of wormes, stones, and the like in the guts, gall, heart, longs and other parts, of which no Art, or excellence of knowledge can possibly take notice, vntill they haue prooued themselues vnto the sight. Many diseases of these kindes being fearefull and terrible accidents, and afflictions vnto the body, yet for the most part are neuer detected; because they haue not onely no proper true certaine likely, but no possible meanes or way of indication or notice at all, in any reason or vnderstanding of humane Art or Science; without which the most exquisite and Scientificall Clarkes are altogether disabled, and must necessarily bee ignorant. Thus hath beene at large manifested, that nothing can bee vnto the Physician in his Art and Science knowne, which either by outward Sense or inward is not apparent, or by likely and artificiall coniecture from both, is not detected or discerned. The like might bee vrged concerning the trials of Lawe and Iustice, and inquisitions of offences and errors against the Law, which are the diseases of a Common-weale, as the former of the body of man. Many offences against the Lawe are apparent vnto the outward Sense, as sight or hearing: and therefore being witnessed by hearers or beholders, are without doubt or difficultie immediately dispatched, sentenced, and adiudged. Many also are euident to reason, which therefore are held and reputed inuincibly and infallibly to conuince.

Many offences also there are, neither manifest to Sense, nor euident to reason, against which onely likelihood and presumptions doe arise in iudgement; whereby notwithstanding, through narrow search and sifting, strict examination, circumspect & curious view of euery circumstance, together with euery materiall moment and oddes thorowly, and vnto the depth and bottome by subtill disquisition sadomed, the learned, prudent, and discerning Iudge doeth oft detect and bring vnto light many hidden, intestine, and secret mischiefes, which vnsensibly and vnobseruedly would otherwise oppresse and subuert the Common-weale. When

by none of these wayes of extrication the trueth can possibly be gained, the wise and vpright iudge vnto necessitie in want of due warrant vnto iust proceeding, doeth with patience and sobrietie submit. For this cause (as may be seene vpon records) many cases iustly necessarily and vnauoidably stand perpetually inscrutable, vndecided and neuer determined, as certaine proofes & euidences of the limitation and annihilation of mans knowledge in many things of this life: Almightie God oft-times decreeing to hide some trueth from the sight of man, and detaining it in his owne secret will and pleasure.

CHAP. III.

Whether Witch-craft haue any other wayes or meanes of inuestigation, then these before mentioned, and what is the true inuestigation.

IT hath beene at large before declared, how God and Nature haue limited and confined all knowledge of man, within certaine wayes and bounds, out of which, and beyond which it cannot passe; as also for that cause, that no iustifiable Art or true Science whatsoeuer, doeth or can exceed those restraints. There haue bin also diuers examples produced of the necessitie of mans ignorance, in the impossibilitie of much knowledge, and discouery of things hidden and inhibited by the iust and vnsearchable decrees of God and Nature. It remaineth now to enquire concerning our particular subiect of Witch-craft, whether in the common way of all other detections of truethes, it ought likewise consist; or whether by it selfe it haue other priuiledges beyond all other trials. If reason be the sole eye and light of naturall vnderstanding which God hath giuen vnto reasonable man (as is before prooued.) If without it can be no naturall knowledge, no Art, no Science, no discouery. If Law among all people and nations be so iust in all things, as to doe or allow nothing against true reason (in which

which conſiſteth right.) If God himſelfe, and all flouriſhing Common-weales haue tyed men and Lawes, and the deciſion by them of all doubts, queſtions and controuerſies, either vnto right proofe, euidence and allegation, according vnto reaſon, or at leaſt, faire likelihood, preſumption, and probabilitie; and beyond theſe there neuer was, is, or can bee any iuſt iudgement or triall: How is it poſſible that man can attaine any knowledge of Witch-craft, if not by thoſe meanes, by which onely his nature is capable of whatſoeuer is allotted to bee knowne thereto? If this bee infallibly true, man muſt either by the former common wayes of knowledge and detection, know likewiſe and detect Witch-craft, or elſe bee altogether ignorant thereof; whereof the contrary by dayly experience is manifeſt. It may bee and is obiected, that it is a hard and difficult matter to detect Witch-craft, by the former and ordinary courſes, as is oft ſeene and found apparent. So is it likewiſe equally difficult, and as hard by the ſame meanes oft times, for many a iuſt man to prooue and cleere his oppoſed innocency, and for many an iniuriouſly wronged wretch to prooue his right, to defend his goods, yea, life it ſelfe from violence; notwithſtanding, this is no allowance vnto another way, no reaſon or iuſtification of any vnwarranted way, or way out of the way of Reaſon, Iuſtice, and Law, bee his burden neuer ſo inſupportable, or his iniury exceeding crueltie.

For, if God had allowed vnto men alwayes ſmooth, aſſured, certaine and infallible wayes vnto the ſatisfaction of their wants, and the accompliſhment of their intentions and deſires without failing; what would become of Religion, Vertue, and Wiſedome? Then ſhould euery man be alike wiſe, and men would bee ſo confident in their owne ſtrength and power, and ſo proud, that they would forget God and neuer thinke of the Almighty. If the meanes and wayes vnto all knowledge, and the information of our deſires and affections, did meete with no impediment, no oppoſition, no contradiction, no caſualty to intercept, and

all things should prosperously succeed vnto our meanes and endeuours, there would neuer bee any vse of Patience, Temperance, or dependance vpon the diuine prouidence: and consequently, little acknowledgment, and lesse worship and adoration of our Creator, who according to his will & pleasure, good will and pleasure, doth otherwise gouerne, guide, order and dispose all things. For if vnto our supposed needfull ends, vses and necessary desires were certaine and vncontrouled waies, nothing impossible, nothing denyed; then were our iust a Lawe, and man in no power but in his owne, in no awe, in no Law, in no rule.

Therefore Almightie God in his great and vnspeakeable Wisedome hath subiected vaine man, and made his pride subiect to infinite creatures, limits, restraints, coertions, thereby to teach him true wisedome, pietie, trust, dependance, worship, and adoration of his all-restraining and all-limiting vnmeasured power. Man therefore must thereby learne to be contented so to know, as therewith to learne to know himselfe; that is, with his large portion, his lot, his manifold indowments, his excellencie of Sense, Reason, Vnderstanding, Prudence, Art, not to forget or spurne at their interdictions, prohibitions, and inioyned lists, beyond which to desire to know, is curiositie, is folly: *Sapientia, vera nulle nimis sapere* saith the Poet. It is true Wisedome, not to bee too wise: that is, not to know, nor desire to know more then is allowed or needfull: needfull, not in our desires, but Gods Decree.

Here then let me intreat reasonable men, not too much (as is vsuall) to swell with indignation, or to be puffed with impatience, where God doth not apertly reueale & plainely (as they desire and thinke needfull) the subtill engines, and mysticall craft of the Diuell in the Machinations of Witches and Sorcerers; but soberly, modestly, and discreetly, so farre forth be contented to pursue the tryall and iust way of their discouery, as with sense, with reason, with Religion is iust and righteous, knowing that whatsoeuer is beyond these lists, is reasonlesse, senseleſſe, and impious.

For

For since God and Nature (as is before said) hath limited the scrutinie of all true Arts, and Sciences, all naturall knowledge for discouerie of controuersies and resolutions vnto the lights of Reason and sense, & artificiall coniecture, prudence, Art, sagacitie, and subtiltie of vnderstanding deriued from thence; vnto what other barre or seate of Iustice can Witch-craft appeale or be brought?

It may be obiected, the Art of Witch-craft, being supernaturall, and the practise thereof sustained by an extraordinary power; that therefore the meanes and wayes of discouerie must bee likewise more then ordinary and supernaturall.

Hereto is truly answered, that since the nature and power of Spirits is vnknowne vnto man (as all things supernaturall) and can bee, and is no otherwise knowne, but by examining the workes issuing from thence, and comparing them aright with that which is naturall (because man in his Reason and vnderstanding cannot discerne that which is truely transcending his Nature, otherwise, then obseruing how farre it exceedeth that which is according to Nature:) therefore (I say) the workes of the Diuell, or Witches, though sustained and produced by a supernaturall power, yet can haue no other way for their detection by man, but that which is ordinary vnto man, and naturall and possible vnto man; for that which is aboue or beyond his power, or Nature, is not his owne. From hence must necessarily be concluded, that there is no other ordinary way vnto man (who knoweth or can know nothing but that is naturall) vnto the discouerie of that is supernaturall, but that way which is likewise naturall. Although therefore the subiect of Witch-craft require a greater measure of knowledge to discerne that which is therein really, and truely supernaturall, from that which in nature oft times hath a very great likenesse, and a deceiueable similitude therewith: yet is the way vnto that knowledge, the common high way which conducteth vnto all other knowledge whatsoeuer. And that this also is the same way & direction,

which the holy Scripture it selfe doeth intend, for the discouery of witches, and their sentensing is manifest. *Num.* 39.30. *Deut.* 17.6. and 19.15. *Matth.* 18.16. *Iohn* 8.17. 2. *Corinth.* 13.1. *Hebr.* 10.28. In these named places it is required, that no man bee iudged in matter of weight, or death, but by the testimony of two witnesses, at the least. Witch-craft therefore being a matter, both of weight, and death, cannot according vnto Gods word, bee iudged but by testimony of witnesses: whatsoeuer is witnessed, must necessarily bee subiect to sense, since no man can witnesse ought, whereof there is not sense. From hence then it is ineuitably concluded, that the workes of Witches, are no other way to bee discerned, or iudged, but by the common way of discouery, by deedes, and workes apparent to sense, and the testimony thereof. Let men then bee perswaded and contented (since God hath alotted, and allowed vnto the nature and power of man no other way) in this onely warranted true way to seeke the discouery, to finde the footing, path, and steppings of Witch-craft, as of all other things, which by the Decree of God are reuealed vnto man, and subiect vnto the knowledge of man. It may bee here demanded, whether Almighty God doth not extraordinarily, and miraculously at some time discouer this so abominable sinne of Witch-craft, aswell as by ordinary meanes leaue it vnto discouerie? This doubt shall more fitly in more due place be hereafter at large discoursed. It hath now beene here manifested, that there is or can bee no other ordinary tryall of Witch-craft, then that which is common vnto all other detections of trueth: and also that all detections subiect vnto the discouerie of man (as hath beene before cleared) are drawne and deriued either from Sense or Reason, or likely probability raised from both.

Before I doe proceed farther, for his more facill vnderstanding, I doe admonish the Reader, that hee distinguish, what is meant by the supernaturall workes; namely, whatsoeuer is effected, in, vpon, or by any corporall substances,

or

or sublunarie bodies, which is aboue the nature, and power of those bodies, or sublunarie substances. They are not supernaturall, in regard of those spirituall substances, which are the proper agents, and vnto whom such workes, are no more then naturall; but in regard of those bodily substances, vpon which, in which, or by which, those spirituall substances doe worke, as meerely their patients, and being in themselues, or owne nature depriued of any such possibilitie.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the workes of Witches and Diuels.

BEfore wee proceed further to treate concerning matter of Witch-craft, according to the former waies of discouery and inuestigation: it will be needfull to distinguish who is the true Author, cause, and immediate workman of the supernaturall workes which by Sorcery and Witch-craft are compassed or brought to passe.

All created substances indowed with powers and vertue from God their Creator, are either bodily, or corporall substances, or spirituall, or mixt and betweene both.

Bodily and corporall substances are the heauens, the celestiall bodies of the Starres, of the Sunne, of the Moone; the bodies of the elements, and all elementarie substances from them deriued and composed.

Spirituall substances are either Angels, or Diuels, or soules of men after death, separated from their bodies.

Mixed substances, partly Spirituall, partly bodily, are mankinde compounded of a naturall body, and vnderstanding soule.

Hence it commeth to passe, that man by his vnderstanding Spirit, doth together with Angels, Spirits, and Diuels, participate and vnderstand many things; as the Scripture reuealed; the History and Creation of the whole world; many truths of God; the grounds of Reason; the princi-

ples

ples of Nature; many generall rules and obseruations, and infinite particular obiects of many things past, present, and to come. But for that this vnderstanding Soule is depressed, and imprisoned in this life by the body, by the passions, diseases, and manifold incumbrances thereof, and cannot extend or inlarge it selfe further vnto any portion of knowledge, then thorow the narrow windowes, closures, parts and organs of the body: therefore must necessarily the knowledge of man be much inferiour vnto that measure of knowledge, which Spirits, being of a more subtill essence, and free from the burden and incumbrance of an earthly tabernacle or prison, doe in a more large extent inioy.

As is said of the difference of knowledge in Spirits, beyond the power and nature of man: so may be said from the same reason of the difference of the workes of Spirits, farre inlarging and extending their vertue and power, beyond the power and force of men.

The workes of men, are confined within the power and nature of these sublunarie bodies, vnto which they are annexed, and tyed.

The workes of Spirits are limited to no corporall substance or body, but spaciously compasse the whole and vniuersall body of the sublunary or inferiour world (as the Diuell doth witnesse of himselfe, *Iob* 1. *verse* 7.) and are not tied vnto any particular place, but rule generally therin, and in all places by the permission of God, as is euident, *Eph.* 2. *ver.* 2. where the Diuell is called the Prince that ruleth in the ayre, euen the Spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience: and likewise, *Ephes.* 6. *verse.* 12. where he is called the Prince of darknesse of this world.

From these vndoubted grounds, it is necessarily inferred, that both all knowledge exceeding the knowledge of man, must needs issue from the knowledge of Spirits, and also that all workes exceeding and transcendent, aboue the power and nature of corporall substances, must necessarily be

be the force of Spirits. It may now be demaunded, how the workes of good Spirits ſhall be knowne and diſtinguiſhed from the workes of euill Spirits and diuels, ſince both their workes proceede from the ſame nature, ſubſtance, and ſpirituall eſſence common vnto them both. This ſhall appeare by the conſideration of the orders and ſorts of good Spirits, expreſſed in holy Scripture, and their properties, beſides which, all other are neceſſarily euill, and therefore diuels; like vnto whom likewiſe, by iuſt conſequent muſt be their workes, the one reciprocally * diſcouering the other. All good Spirits are either Angels and Meſſengers of God, ſpecially ſent with his holy embaſſage, to ſpeciall holy men, for ſpeciall holy ends; as was the Seraphin ſent vnto *Iſaiah, the 6. Chapter, verſe 6.* and as were the Angels vnto the Shepheards, when our Sauiour was borne, or as were the Angels which were ſent vnto the Patriarches of olde, or els tutelar Angels, ordinarily commanded to guide, protect, and defend the Elect and choſen children of God, as is manifeſt both by the teſtimony of our Sauiour, *Math.* 18. *verſe.* 10. See that you deſpiſe not (ſaith our bleſſed Sauiour) one of theſe little ones: For I ſay vnto you, that in heauen their Angels alway behold the face of my Father, which is in heauen. And by that Text alſo, *Heb.* 1. *verſ.* 14. Are they not all miniſtring Spirits (ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking of Angels) ſent forth to miniſter for their ſakes, who ſhall be heires of ſaluation? Beſide theſe orders of good and holy Spirits, neither hath the holy Scripture, neither hath the light of reaſon, or nature, or obſeruation, knowne or diſcouered any other.

* Angeli boni non poſſunt precario, confirmatiue, primum. Angelo mali, per malitiam obſtinatam poſſunt benevelle Magiſt. Sent. diſt. 7. l. b. a.

All the workes likewiſe and employments of theſe good Spirits, are all and euer obſerued to be like themſelues, holy, good, freely ſeruing and miniſtring vnto the expreſſe will, knowne and vndoubted pleaſure of Almighty God, as is certainly confirmed, *Pſal.* 103. *verſe* 20. Praiſe ye the Lord (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) ye his Angels that excell in power, that doe his commandements in obeying the voyce of his word.

All workes therefore or effects issuing from Spirits, that cannot bee proued and manifested to be first commanded by * God; secondly, tending solely to the execution of his will; and thirdly, are not contained in one of the foure first mentioned offices and administrations of Spirits, they are all certainely and assuredly to be suspected as workes of diuels and euill spirits, whom God doth permit (as saith S. *Augustine* in his 3. Booke *de Trinitate*) to bring to passe such workes of theirs, partly to deceiue those wicked, which God in iudgement hath giuen ouer to be deceiued of diuels; partly, to quicken and stirre vp the godly and holy man, and to trie and proue him thereby, as hee did his faithfull seruant *Iob*.

* Boni Angeli difficile cõparent, nec nisi summi Dei iuria capessunt Bernel. de Abd. Rer. Caus. lib. 1. ca. 11.

Now for a more distinct cleerenesse and light vnto the proofe of these suspected workes of diuels, it is very profitable, necessary and pertinent, that we consider their kinds, which are two. The first kinde is of such supernaturall workes as are done by the diuell solely and simply to his owne ends or vse, without any reference or respect to any contract or couenant with man. The second kinde is of such transcendent workes, as are done with a respect or reference vnto some contract or couenant with man. In the first, the diuell is solely * an Agent [a] for himselfe, without the consent or knowledge of man. In the second, the supernaturall and transcendent workes are truly, essentially, and immediately from the diuell also, (because out of the reach or power of any command of man simply) yet therein man hath a property and interest by couenant and contract, and deriuation thereof from the diuell, which is truely and solely Sorcerie, and Witch-craft: for since supernaturall workes are onely proper to a Spirit, and aboue the nature and power of man, they cannot truely and properly bee esteemed his; and therefore it is not the supernaturall work it selfe, but mans contract and combination therein with the diuell, his consent [a] and allowance thereof, that doth make it his, and him a Witch, a Sorcerer, which is a [b] contracter

* Inter maleficium & merum Diaboli opus distinguitur. Binsfeldius Explicat. in præl. d. 5. Vt fiat maleficium hæc tria concurrunt, nempe Deus permittens, Diaboli potestas, hominis malefici voluntas libere consentiens. Binsfeldius de confess. Sagar.

tracter with the diuell. Now let vs proceed to consider how these supernaturall workes in the former seuerall kinds are or may be detected, some by Reason, some by Sense; wherein I intreat he Reader to vnderstand supernaturall workes or acts not as absolutely or simply aboue nature in generall (since nothing created can so be) but respectiuely aboue nature or in respect of this or that particular nature.

b Tacitè inuocatur Dæmon quoties quis contrydit illud facere per causas naturales, quæ nec virtute sua naturali neque ex diuina aut ecclesiastica possunt id facere. Binsfeldius.

CHAP. V.

The workes of the Diuell by himselfe, solely wrought without the association of man.

IT is not destitute of easie proofe, that there are many supernaturall workes of the diuell manifest to sense, wherein man doth not participate in knowledge, contract or consent with him. Did not the Diuell in the body of a Serpent miraculously * reason, dispute, speake and conferre with *Eua. Gen.* 3? Was not his speach and voice vndoubtedly, manifestly, perceptibly, and truly heard, and sounding in her eares? There then was no man as yet borne that could combine with the diuell in this supernaturall worke, or that could then be found a Witch. Likewise, was not the Diuels carriage of the body of our Sauiour, and setting it vpon a pinacle of the Temple, manifest to the eye? Was not the fire which the diuell * brought doue from heauen in so miraculous manner, and in so extraordinary power to deuoure so many thousands of *Iobs* sheepe, truly visible? The Messenger escaping to bring the tydings doth witnesse it. Was not the power of the diuell seene at such time, as in the Gospell he carried whole herds of swine headlong into the Sea? Was not the Diuell seene to rend and teare the bodies of men by him possessed, in an extraordinary and supernaturall manner and sort, *Marke* the first, *Luke* 4. *Math.* 17. *Marke* the ninth? Was not the very voice of a Spirit heard and distinguished, when the diuell in so fearefull and merueilous manner cryed out in the possessed, *Math.* 8. *Mark.* 5. *Luke* 8? Did not the people behold the miraculous force of the diuell

* Instrumentum diaboli Serpens. Tremelius. Iuuius. The Serpent did verily speake. It was a true Serpent not a shadow. The diuell spake in the Serpent as the Angel in the Asse. *Dr. Willet.*

* Iob 1. ver. 16.

diuell casting the possessed into the middest of them, *Luk.* 4. 33.34,35? Did not the people heare & behold a foule Spirit crying aloud, & in an admirable power & manner comming out of the possessed, *Marke* 1. 24,25,26,26? All these were workes supernaturall of the diuell, and manifest to outward sense; yet no mention, no suspicion, no reason of mention, or suspicion of a Witch or Sorcerer: wherein therefore the diuell alone was sole Agent. But it may be obiected, that these examples out of the holy Scriptures are recorded as things specially seene, or noted in some speciall ages & times, which after-times & other ages doe not, or cannot afoord.

The contrary is manifest by the faithfull histories and true reports of Ethnicke writers, who liuing in distant ages, do not differ in the true consent and harmony of the same report, concerning the same things, as they haue succeeded in their seuerall ages. It is not incredible, but certaine vnto any common Reader, what diuers authors of approoued faith and credit, in seuerall ages haue written: how the diuell not onely out of the bodies and seuerall parts,* a part of the bodies of men haue vttered words, and spoken with the voice of men, euen as in the Gospell he did out of the possessed; but also out of trees, caues of earth, images and statues. The first is euident by the generall report from one succeeding age vnto another, concerning the *Pythons Pythonici spiritus Ventriloqui*, and the like. The second was neuer hid many hundreth of yeares, for many ages long before the birth of our blessed Sauiour, as is apparent by the famous Oracle of *Delphos*, the Oake of *Dodona*, the Statue of *Memnon*. *Petrus Gregorius Tholosanus*, in his *Syntagma Iuris*, reciteth this history concerning certaine statues at *Alexandria*, that they did fall vnto the ground sudainly, and with an audible voice declared the death of *Mauricius* the Emperour, euen at the same moment and point of time when he was then slaine at Rome.

As the Diuell doth shew himselfe by voices and sounds in trees, caues, statues, and the like: so doth he in diuers other outward shapes and formes of other creatures.

Thus

* Oracula edita sunt per pudenda puellæ. Mornæus de verit. Rel cap. 23. Ex Diodoro.

Thus he appeared vnto *Eua*, and spake vnto her in the shape of a Serpent aforesaid. Of his appearance in diuers other formes likewise are many Testimonies. Neither doe Philosophers differ or doubt herein. *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysickes* hath these words. ἡσέα λέγεται τὰ τοῦ ὑπαστοῦντα ἐνεργῆ, καὶ πῦρ, καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἔστι τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων συνεστῶ τὰ ζῶα καὶ δαιμόνια. That is, substances are called simple bodies, as water, earth, fire and the like, and things compounded thereof, as liuing creatures and spirits: which is so farre forth to be vnderstood of spirits, as they were in assumed shapes visible. *Orpheus* doth number sixe kinds of these visible diuels or spirits. Δαίμονας ἠρωτίους καὶ ὑπόνους, καὶ ἐνύδρους, καὶ χθονίους καὶ ὑποχθονίους πυρφόντας, That is, Spirits inhabiting the heauenly regions, Spirits ruling in the ayre, in the water, in the fire, in the earth, and vnder the earth. The Spirits in the Aire *Plato* saith, are presidents of diuination, of miracles, and of *Chaldaike Magicke*. The Spirits in the earth, and vnder the earth are such as appeare in the shape of Dogges, and Goates, and the like, moouing men vnto foule and vnlawfull lusts as *Ianus Iocobus Boissardus* in his *tractate de Magia & genijs* doth testifie. The same Authour vnto this purpose citeth Saint *August*. lib. 2. *Super Genesim ad literam*, confirming that Spirits doe vse the helpe of Aerie bodies or substances that they may appeare vnto men. Vnto this opinion of the apparitions of Spirits variety of story likewise doth bring forth faith and credit. I will not mention the apparition which happened vnto *Athenodorus* the Philosopher reported by *Pliny*, nor *Brutus* his *Genius* after the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, appearing and speaking vnto him, nor those representations, which in the shape of men appeared vnto *Lucius Domitius*, returning toward *Rome* as *Suetonius* reporteth, adding for confirmation of truth in the Historie, that the apparition touching his beard, it instantly changed from the former perfect blacke vnto a liuely yellow, and thereupon he was afterward sirnamed *Oenobarbus*. I will not farther cite ancient times herein. Let vs come vnto later daies and writers. It is reported

by *Iohn de Serres* the French Chronicler, that the late renowmed K. of France, *Henry* the 4. being in his hunting sports, a Diuell or Spirit presented vnto the Kings eares and his whole company, a great cry of hounds, and winding of hornes. The King commanded Count *Soissons* to goe see who it was, wondering who durst interrupt his game. The Earle still ifsuing forward toward the noise, still heard it, but seemed nothing neerer vnto it, though desiring to come neereſt vnto it. At length a bigge blacke man presented himselfe in the thickest of the bushes, and speaking vnto the Earle some few words, sudainly vanished.

There could be no deceit in so many eares and witnesses, nor can the obiection of a meere imagination stand vncontrouled of the iust reproofe of want of wit and good manners, in doubt or deniall of so faire and so well aduised due testimonies.

Master *Fox*, in the life of *Martin Luther*, doth relate the apparition and conference of the Diuell with a yong man; who vpon contracts agreed betweene the Diuell and himselfe, deliuered vnto the Diuell his bond for conditioned performances.

Speede in his Chronicle, and relation of the passage of many affaires, within the time of *Henry* the 4. doth make mention of the apparition of the Diuell in the habite of a *Minorite Fryer* at *Dunbury* Church in Essex, with such thundring, lightning, tempests, and fire-bals, that the vault of the Church brake, and halfe the Chancell was carried away.

I will not further recite infinite Histories and Reports, which may seeme to depend vpon the obscure or doubted credit of superstitious factions, or partiall Authors, but of such onely as by the common consent of times, and generall voice of all Writers haue exact credit and esteeme.

In this kinde what a multitude of Examples doth the whole current and streame of all Writers of all ages afford? Who almost that readeth any ancient classicall Author, can auoide

auoide the common mention of fained gods,* and godesses of the field, of the woods, of the mountaines, of houses, of desarts, of riuers, of springs, and the like, offering themselues vnto men and people, sometimes in one shape, sometimes in another; requiring worship, ceremonies, and rites; some in one manner, some in another; doing strange and admired workes oft-times, sometimes pleasantly encountring people, sometimes menacing?

Herevpon grew the multitude and varietie of names giuen vnto them, according to the seuerall manners, shapes, gestures, and places which they vsed; as * *Fauni, Satyri, Nymphæ, Empusa, Lemures.* All Christians, who know God, his word, and truth, and thereby beleeue one onely true God, must needs assure themselues that all these were euill Spirits, and Diuels. * That such were, all times, ages, histories, and records of times with one vniuersall consent confirme. That they were manifestly seene, knowen, & familiarly by the outward senses discerned and distinguished, cannot bee denied, by the seuerall descriptions of their manners, assumed shapes and gestures.

And thus briefely auoiding the tediousnesse of the multitude of vncertaine particular examples giuen by priuate men, I haue by vndoubted and vncontrouled references vnto ages and successions of continued histories from one vnto another manifested, how among the heathen, the Diuell hath apparently offered himsele vnto the outward sense, without the association of a Witch or Sorcerer: Which was likewise before prooued by instances out of the holy Scripture. In all these the Diuell hath affected to * counterfeit the apparitions of the blessed Angels of God vnto his holy seruants, thereby to make himselfe like or equal vnto God in ignorant and vnbeleeuing hearts.

* Vide Platonem in Epinomide de viribus & potestatibus Hernum, quos Latini Lemures dixerunt De Genijs item diis & dæmonibus promiscue in cœlo, terra, & singulis mundi regionibus distributis vide in Politico. Vide Platonem 4. de legibus. Quos ibi Plato promiscue Dæmones appellat, Latini his nominibus, & quibusdam officiis distinxerunt.

* Fauni Syluani Incubi Dusii Dæmones fuere. August. De Ciuit. Dei. Diabolus, Dei æmulus quo se fallaci similitudine insinuet in animos simplicium. Caluin. lib. 1. Instit. cap. 8. Sect. 2.

CHAP. VI.

Workes done by the Diuell, with respect vnto Couenant with Man.

IT now followeth to giue examples of such supernaturall workes as are offered by the Diuell, wherein man hath an interest and propertie by contract with the Diuel; as also to shew that these workes are manifest in like manner vnto the outward sense. Vnto this proofe out of holy Scripture, behold the Witch of *Endor*. Did not *Saul* contract with her, and she promise vnto *Saul* to bring vp *Samuel* vnto him? Did not Saul see the vision raised by her, or at least speake thereto, and receiue answer there-from, 1. *Sam.* 28. 8? were not then his eyes and eares (those two outward senses) certaine witnesses of her Sorcerie? Behold also the Sorcerers of Egypt. Did not *Pharaoh* see and view with his eyes those great and mighty Sorceries, water turned into blood, rods into Serpents, Frogges caused to issue out vpon the face of the earth?

And as the holy Scripture doth afford vs these examples, so are the histories of all ages, people, and countries, fraught with the like as manifest to sense as these, and as apparently detecting and pointing out the Sorcerer and Sorcery.

Liuy reporteth, in those ancient dayes of *Rome*, that the *Romane Claudia*, a vestall Virgin, did shew her selfe in act, able alone with ease and facilitie to draw a mighty ship by a small line or girdle, which was in the weight and greatnesse vnmoueable, against the force and power of many strong men, assisted by the strength of cattell accustomed to draw mighty and heauy burdens. That this was an act supernaturall, and aboue, and beyond any naturall vertue or force in her Nature, is madnesse to doubt. That in this supernaturall act also, she had a propertie by her allowance and liking

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ing thereof, expressed by her voluntarie action of vndertaking and drawing; who can make doubt? The act was supernaturall, and aboue her power and nature: her good will, allowance, and voluntary putting the act in practice, did proue her consent, if not contract, with that power and nature superiour vnto her owne, which is vndoubtedly, Sorcery, and Witch-craft. To this purpose, saith *Binsfieldius, Explicat. in prælad. 5. Requiritur in maleficio hominis libera voluntas quam Diabolus non potest cogere, sed persuadere tantum aut terrere.* That is, in Witch-craft necessarily the will, or consent of man, must concurre with the Diuels worke, for the Diuell cannot force, or compell the will of man, but perswadeth it onely, or affrighteth it. And againe hee saith, that whosoeuer doeth pretend to doe those things, which are aboue the power, and reach of man, by any naturall causes, which causes are allowed no such effects, either in nature, or in Gods word, or by any ordinance of of his Church, that man doeth closely, or tacitly inuocate the Diuell. *Quoties (inquit) quis contendit illud facere, per causas naturales, quæ nec virtute sua naturali, neque ex diuina aut Ecclesiastica possunt illud facere, Tacitè in vocatur Dæmon.*

Tuccia also a vestall Virgin, is reported by mumbling of a certaine prayer, to keepe water within a siue, or a riddle, as witnesseth not onely *Pliny*, but euen *Tertullian*.

* *Camerarius* maketh mention of a man, who armed onely with certaine charmes, would vndertake to receiue vpon his body, without harme, bullets, or shot out of the fiery Cannon. De diuin. generibus. pag. 118.

He maketh also mention of another, who would vndertake to lay his hand vpon the mouth of the like instrument, euen when the fire was alreadie giuen, and thereby cause the flame appearing in the mouth thereof, together with the shot there, to stay.

The like is reported by *Ianus, Iacobus, Boissardus*, concerning a Germane Count in his booke *de Diuinatione*. It is related vpon good record, that *Decius Actius* the Augur, was able to report vnto *Tarquinius* the Romane King, the

very particular which he intended, & prepared in his most secret designes. It is written of the *Enthusiastes*, or Prophetesses of *Diana* in *Castabala*, a towne of *Cilicia*, that they would walke vsuall, & voluntarily, with naked & bare feet, vpon hot burning coales, without any hurt, or alteration by the fire. It is recorded concerning *Pythagoras*, that hee would by certaine secret words, compell a feeding Oxe, Bullocke, or the like, immediately to stand still, and forbeare his meat. Others report of him, that he would command wild beasts, and Birds, Beares, and Eagles, to come vnto him, to grow tame, to follow him. It is credibly reported of the same *Pythagoras*, that hee was at once by seuerall parties seene, in the very same point of time, both in the Citie of *Thurium*, and the towne of *Metapontum*.

Apollonius likewise was translated, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, or in the space of a word speaking from *Smyrna*, vnto *Ephesus*, as some Historics report. That the power by which these things were done, was more then humane, no Reason can doubt. That also the voluntary accession of these mens disposing, or apting themselues vnto these workes, doeth prooue their consent, and by consent in consequence of reason, societie with a Spirit, who can doubt? And for this cause, *Bonfieldius* teareth it a tacit contract, as is aforesaid.

But here by the way, is iust occasion offered vnto a question; namely, whether a Spirit or Diuell can cause or bring to passe, that the same true body at once may bee really in two distant places, as it seemeth by this history of *Pythagoras*.

The answere hereto must needes in reason bee negatiue; because it is impossible in nature, and in the ordinary vnchangeable course of all things by God created, that one individuall and continued substance, or entire thing should be wholly diuided from it selfe, and yet be it selfe, or possibly be twice, or bee in two places, and yet bee but one and the selfe same thing.

We must therefore rather here thinke that the diuell is a

Iuggler,

Iuggler, presenting the liuely shape and pourtraiture of *Pythagoras* in one place, and thereto haply by his supernaturall power, adding a counterfait liuelihood of speech and gesture, while the true substance is certainely and truly seen in another place. That these like practises are vsuall with the diuell, is apparent in many other kinds beside. Did hee not vndertake, *Math.* 4. *verse* 8. vnto wisdome it selfe our blessed Sauiour, to shew vnto him all the Kingdomes of the earth, a thing so farre out of his reach and compasse, but only by a lying and iugling vision? If this he doeth vnto the Sonne of God, how shall the silly sonnes of sinfull men escape? It is written by some Authors, that the diuell hath perswaded some foolish Sorcerers and Witches, that hee hath changed their bodies and substances, into Catts, Asses, Birds, and other creatures, which * really and indeed without illusion (if it be not presumption to reason with the Diuell) is impossible vnto him to doe. For there can bee no reall or true matamorphosing of one substance or nature into another, but either by creation or generation. The one is the sole immediate hand of God, communicable to no creature (because there cannot be two Creators) the other is naturall, the finger-worke and power of God in nature, and proper to the nature of liuing animate creatures, not to Angels or Spirits.

* Transformationes in cattos aut lupos phantastice et per præstigias et non realiter fiunt. August. de Ciuit. Dei cap. 18.

Againe, creation is the worke of an infinite power, and therefore of God alone, because there can be but one Infinite, whose nature containing all things, and contained of nothing, can admit no equall, no second, no other. The Diuell then cannot create. That likewise he cannot cause these transmutations by generation, is as plaine and euident, because a true and reall generation hath many precedent * alterations, and by little and little in space of time groweth vnto the perfection of that kinde, vnto which it doth tend or is begotten; but these seeming transmutations by the Diuell of the substances of Men into Cattes, and the like, are swift and sodaine, in a moment, and without preparation:

* Generatio non est nisi in tempore idq; apparata materia per antecessionem mutationis, quam Græci [illegible] recentiores Ciceronia maluerunt cõmutationem. Scal. de subt. exercit. 6. sect. 14.

paration : and therefore are no true, but seeming and iuggling transmutations.

Here may be againe obiected, that the Diuell is able to worke aboue the power of Nature; and therefore beside and aboue the naturall course of generation, hee is able to make these reall transmutations. It is answered, though the diuell indeed, as a Spirit, may doe, and doth many things aboue and beyond the course of some particular natures: yet doth hee not, nor is able to rule or command ouer generall Nature, or infringe or alter her inuiolable decrees in the perpetuall and neuer-interrupted order of all generations; neither is he generally Master of vniuersall Nature, but Nature Master and Commaunder of him. For Nature is nothing els but the ordinary [a] power of God in all things created, among which the Diuell being a creature, is contained, and therefore subiect to that vniuersall power.

[a] Natura est ordinaria Dei potestas. Scalig.

For this cause, although aboue the power of our particular nature, the Diuell as a Spirit doth many things, which in respect of our nature, are supernaturall; yet in respect of the power of Nature in vniuersall, they are but naturall vnto himselfe and other Spirits, who also are a kinde of creature contained within the generall nature of things created: Opposite therefore, contrarie, against or aboue the generall [*] power of Nature, he can doe nothing. Therefore, to conclud this point, he cannot be able to commaund or compasse any generation aboue the power of Nature, whose power is more vniuersall and greater then his. We will then hence conclude, that aboue and beyond the vniuersall Nature and course of all generation, hee cannot make a true transmutation of the substance of any one creature into another.

[*] Natura est vniuersalis, est particularis.

It was before prooued, that it is impossible for him to doe it by creation. It is here manifest, that he cannot doe it by any course of true generation. There can be no real transmutation of one substance into another, without either a creation or generation. Wee will therefore conclude with the

the saying of Saint *Augustine de Ciuitate Dei, lib.* 18. *cap.* 18. *Nec sane Dæmones naturas creant, sed specie tantùm, quæ à Deo creata sunt, commutant, vt videantur esse quæ non sunt:* that is, diuels cannot create any nature or substance, but in iuggling shew or seeming only, whereby with false shadowes and outward induced shapes couering those things which are created of God, by these commutations they cause them to seeme that which they are not indeed.

Concerning other manifest iugglings and illusions of the Diuell, diuers authors haue giuen diuers examples, but that which aboue all the rest doth most palpably detect him herein, is a history related by *Ioannes Baptista Porta* in his second booke *De Magia naturali.* He there witnesseth, that vpon the Diuels suggestion, a Witch beleeued firmely, and perswaded her selfe, that all the night she had rid in the ayre, ouer diuers great Mountaines, and met inconuenticles of other Sorceresses; when the same night the mentioned Autour himselfe, with others, had watched and seene her, all that imagined time of her transuection in the ayre, to be within her chamber profoundly sleeping; yea, had smitten her, made her fleth blue with strokes, and could not awake her, nor perswade her afterward, when shee was awaked that they had so vsed her, or at all had either seene or beheld her. Thus preualent was the iuggling power of the Diuell.

S. Austine de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 18. doth deliuer an History concerning the father of one *Præsantius*, who lying in a deep traunce so profoundly that no meanes could awake him, did dreame (as when he awaked he did report) that hee was transformed into an Asse, and carried bagges or burdens of corne into a campe of Souldiers. At the same time, in the same manner, such a like Asse as hee in dreame imagined himselfe did bring such burdens into the same campe.

From these examples may bee iustly drawne a plaine demonstration of the Diuels palpable iuggling and illusion, which also may serue for confirmation, together with the

reasons before annexed vnto my former answer, concerning the Diuels seeming, or deceitfull presentation of the reall body of *Pythagoras* in two distant places at once, in the same point of time. And from all these conioined and conferred, may be truely inferred and collected, that the Diuell as hee doth many supernaturall workes really, so he doth many other by illusion and beguiling the imagination.

These his iugglings notwithstanding are things also supernaturall, and tricks onely possible to Spirits and impossible to man. For it is impossible to man to frame so liuely a seeming presence of man in one place, that it shall not bee discerned otherwise then the very same true presence & real substance which is really in another place, as also to fasten such dreames as were before mentioned, vpon men, and according to those dreames to cause the things dreamed, by the witnesse and testimony of other beholders, to bee brought to passe in so liuely likenesse and similitude, as cannot bee discerned and discouered otherwise then the very same that they were in dreame likewise beleeued.

From hence it doth also follow very necessarily, that what man soeuer shall vndertake these supernaturall iuglings, which are onely possible in the power of Spirits, & of the Diuell alone, is thereby as truely conuinced to bee a Witch or Sorceter, as he that vndertaketh any of the former reall supernaturall workes, or any other of the like kinde, because they are both and all alike proper onely to the diuell, and wherein man can haue no property or power but by and through him. Let vs now then againe returne vnto the Diuels reall supernaturall performances and workes, vnto Sorceters, from whence by the way of answer vnto the former doubt, concerning *Pythagoras* his supposed realty of being at once in two places, we haue hitherto onely digressed.

It is written as a thing vsuall vnto many famous Magicians, Sorcerers and Witches, vnto the view and sight of some admitted spectators, to raise resemblances of the dead, which seemeth a thing vndoubted by the Witch of *Endor*, raising

raising *Samuel* the Prophet vnto *Saul* the King before mentioned.

In this kinde those famous and renowned Witches *Medea* and *Circe* in old and ancient times are reported to excell. Hence among the Heathen had *Necromancie* the reason of the name and *ναεκυια* which is diuination by calling vp, or raising the dead.

Later times haue not been behinde former times in the record of the like: but to adde reason to inforce the truth of report herein; I will answer an obiection which may bee made. Whether in these apparitions there be onely illusion and imagination; or some thing truely and really visible vnto the outward sense.

As touching the reall raising of the dead, it is impossible vnto the limited power of the Diuell, either in the substance of body or soule, to reduce or bring the dead back into this world, or life, or sense againe; because in death, by the vnchangeable, and vnalterable decree of God in his holy Writ, the body returneth into dust from whence it came, and the Soule to God who gaue it.

Notwithstanding, since the outward shape and figure, and proportion of any substance, and not the substance it selfe, or creature, is the true and naturall obiect of the eye, according to the *Philosopher*, who truely saith, *Res non videntur, sed rerum species*; that is, the substances or things themselues are not offered, nor come vnto the sight, but only their shape, and outward figure, as also for that common sense and experience doe teach vs, that it is a thing absurd, and impossible, that all those bodies and substances, which in infinite number wee dayly see, and behold really and materially in their corporall substances, and dimensions, should be contained in the small body of the eye: for these causes (I say) it is possible according to reason, that the Diuell in these supposed apparitions of the bodies and substances of dead men, may present true, reall, and naturall obiects, certaine and assured vnto the eye and sight, if hee can onely present thereto the outward liuely pourtraitures,

and shapes of the substances or bodies, though the bodies themselues be away. That the Diuell can doe this, is no doubt. For if man by Art can vsually diuide the outward shapes, and figures of creatures and substances, from the substances and creatures themselues (as is apparent by the looking glasse) and the cunning Painter can in another borrowed substance, separated from their true, right and proper substance, represent perfectly the true and liuely shape of men, & other creatures, euen when they are not onely absent and remoued in farre distant places, but when oft-times they haue many yeares beene swallowed of the graue; why should it be thought impossible vnto the Diuell (who certainely is more then exquisite *Apelles* excellent) to offer and present vnto the eye likewise any true shape whatsoeuer?

If he can offer the true shape (as is not to be doubted) he doth offer a true and perfect obiect; and therefore that which is truely and certainely manifest to sense, although speech and the motion thereof, without another visible bodie to sustaine it (being impossible vnto shapes and pourtraitures drawne by men) be things supernaturall, and truely spirituall, which doe thereforе make it a worke proper vnto the Diuell.

And thus it is apparent, that the supposed apparitions which the Diuell doth offer of dead men, may be esteemed and reckoned among such supernaturall workes of diuels and Sorcerers, as manifestly are brought to outward sense.

Now let vs turne to view some other kinds of the same workes of the same Authors.

It is reported by some Writers of worthy credit, that the bodies of Sorcerers & Witches haue bin really carried, and locally remooued from on place into another by the diuell.

And of later times (as *Bartholomæus de Spina* doth witnesse) the inquisitions haue condemned vnto perpetuall prison, and their detained Witches, who by their owne confession, and others proofe, haue by the Diuell been transported into so farre distant places, in few houres, that afterward

ward it hath bin a trauell of many dayes, by their owne naturall power to returne againe from whence they were manifeſtly by the diuell carried.

It is a thing likewiſe written and vulgarly receiued, that Witches are oft-times ſeene bodily to haunt places, fields, houſes, graues, and ſepulchers, in an vnuſuáll and miraculous manner and wondred faſhion. Theſe things, and infinite more, whether true or no, cannot be knowne, but to him that doth himſelfe behold, and can from his owne ſight auouch them really true, and not imaginarie. To performe ſome manner of aſportation, and locall tranſlation of the bodies of Witches and Sorcerers, it ſeemeth in reaſon a thing whereunto the Diuell is not vnable.

Firſt, for that it appeareth within the power of a Spirit, by the hiſtory of the Prophet *Habacue*, whom the Angel carried by the hayre of the head, out of *Iudea* into *Babylon*. The naturall faculties and properties of a Spirit, giuen in their creation, and by their eſſentiall formes vnited vnto them, the Diuell doth participáte with all other Spirits whatſoeuer, though in his fall from heauen, he loſt their true happineſſe and perfect fruition in the face and fauour of God his Creator.

Secondly, for that there are vndoubted examples in holy Scripture, of the diuels power in the locall tranſlation, not onely of bodies inanimate: as fire, windes, tempeſts, houſes, (as is apparent in the hiſtory of *Iob*) and of animate bodies alſo, or bodies of brute creatures (as is euident in the heards of ſwine which he carried headlong into the Sea) but likewiſe of the bodies of men, as is cleere in the Goſpel, where it is ſaid, that the Diuell did caſt the bodies of the poſſeſſed into the middeſt of the people. If the Diuel could caſt, or carry their bodies the diſtance there expreſſed (whatſoeuer or how little ſoeuer it was) it doth manifeſtly prooue his power, in the locall motion of mens bodies, although the full extent of his power therein be not neceſſarily thence collected.

Concerning the taking the body of our Sauiour, and ſet-

ting it vpon a pinacle of the Temple, I will not vrge, but do conclude vpon my former reasons sufficiently and necessarily, that the Diuell, where God himselfe doth not countermaund, or prohibite him, hath power to dispose and transport our naturall bodies. I will not cite a multitude of Authors herein and from them borrow needlesse examples. As some may bee true, so I doe not beleeue all, and very few I wish tainted, where the proofe doth not manifestly exceede all exception.

I conclude, that it is possible, that sometimes the supernaturall power of the Diuell in this kinde, as in other before mentioned, may appeare vnto outward sense manifest, and the Witch or Sorcerer be found a voluntarie with him. And as is said of this kinde, so may be said of many more besides those before mentioned.

Charmers. Concerning the manifest supernaturall workes done by Charmers, who is ignorant? To omit the histories of *Medea* and *Circe* those old famous Hags, who were seene by charmes immediately to cause graine to wither vpon the ground; the current of waters to stand still; the streame to runne backe against the course, tempests, raine, thunder, windes to rise and fall at their word and command, for an assured testimonie of the true and reall harmes, which Charmers manifestly vnto outward view and sense did vnto the ancient world, is as yet extant so many hundreths of yeares, the Law of the twelue *Romane* Tables, wherein was a Decree and Statute made to preuent and restraine the manifest wrongs and iniuries of Charmers. *Alienas Segetes ne incantato*, saith the Law, *Alienas Segetes incantamento ne pellexeris*, that is, Let no man charme his neighbours graine. Let no man by charmes and incantations carry away or transporte anothers graine. There are many other true reports and records of other wonderfull works and supernaturall feates, all alike offered vnto the outward sence: The enumeration or citation is not further needfull. It is sufficient whatsoeuer or how many soeuer they be, that they are workes supernaturall, that they are manifest to sense, that they are of the

the Diuell, and that the Witch or Sorcerer doth manifest his guilt therein, by voluntary presenting himselfe therein, by manifest vndertaking any part or office in the performance or by promising, and according to promise causing to come to passe. The reason is infallible. He that doth vndertake voluntarily, doth present himselfe and doth promise and according to promise, cause to be performed that which is in anothers power, and impossible vnto himselfe, doth thereby necessarily and vnanswerably prooue himselfe to haue an interest, a power, a contract with that other, which for any man to haue with the Diuell, is society with Diuels, which is Witch-craft and Sorcerie.

And thus hath beene declared, how the supernatuall workes of the Diuell and Sorcerers may be manifest to the outward sense, and the true testimony thereof.

An obiection here may be made, that many of the former workes may seeme manifest to the sense, which indeed and truth are deceits of the imagination and illusion, and therefore there can be no such certainty vnto the outward sense. It is truely * answered, He that wanteth so much true iudgement, as to distinguish when he doth see a certaine true obiect offered vnto his sight from without, and when he is incountred onely with a resemblance thereof from within his fancie and imagination, is diseased in body or minde, or both, and therefore is no competent Iudge or witnesse in these or any other weighty affaires. For that is in health of body, and in the outward organes and instruments of sense, and sound in his reason, iudgement, and vnderstanding, though sometime the fogge and mist of deceiued sense, or fancy, ouershadow the brightnesse of true and vndeceiued reason for a short time in him yet it cannot so perpetually eclipse it, but it wil recouer his light and true splendor againe, and truth will shine more excellently in the end out of that darknesse. This is very liuely seene in the example of S. *Peter. Acts* 12. *verse* 10. 12. who at first did thinke he had onely seene the Angell which God sent vnto him to deliuer him out of bonds, in a dreame or vision: but

* Things imagined and fancied, easily discerned from those things which are reall and true obiects of the sense.

when afterward he was come to himselfe, and his true sense and reason, hee then perfectly discerned and knew that he was really deliuered out of prison by an Angel of God.

If men could not certainly discerne betweene that which they doe really see, and that they falsely imagine in visions, dreames and fancie, then were the life of man most miserable, there could be no certainty of truth, no excelling in knowledge or vnderstanding. All men should be alike vnable to distinguish, whether we liue in dreames onely, or in wakeful deed. But the certaine knowledge which God hath giuen vnto mankinde in so infinite kindes and measures, doth prooue the eminence of reason and vnderstanding aboue the intanglements and depression of sense and fancie.

There remaineth as yet another doubt, which is, how those things which before were mentioned to be spirituall and supernaturall can be subiect in reason vnto outward sense or be knowne thereby, howsoeuer by the former examples, it doth so seeme. It is true that a Spirit and a Spirituall worke simply in it selfe in the owne nature and substance, cannot be seene by any bodily eyes, or be deprehended by any outward sense.

Notwithstanding, as they doe mixe themselues with bodily * substances, which are subiect to sense, by accident Spirits, and spirituall operations, are certainly tryed and discouered euen vnto sense. For how is it possible that a Spirit should mixe it selfe in corporall things, but the discrepant nature thereof, and mighty difference, must produce and beget some great apparent alteration, which alteration being beyond the wonted nature of the one, doth prooue another superiour nature in the other? For illustration hereof, let vs borrow an instance from one of the forenamed manifest Sorceries. Water is turned into blood by a Spirituall power. The eye doth manifestly see the water, and as apparently after see the blood, and is a true and vndeceiued witnesse of both. Reason and common sense doe know the transmutation to proceede from an inuisible power, which appearing in visible bodies, is by them

* Spiritus incorpori & à sensibus nostris remoti operibus conspicui. Fernel. l. 2. de Abd. Rer. cauſ. cap. 18.

apart

apart seene, and doth detect an inuisible Author, because an immediate effect manifested to sense, doth necessarily in nature proone the immediate cause, though hidden and vnknowne to sense. That inuisible and spirituall things may, by those things which are visible and bodily, be conceiued and discerned, the holy Scripture doth witnesse in these words of Saint *Paul, Rom.* 1. 20 The inuisible things of God (saith he) are seene by the visible things, or by his workes in the creation of the world, which are visible.

It may be here demanded, since it is the propertie of the Diuell, in his seeming miraculous contriuements and actions (though a limited and finite subiect creature of God) yet to indeauour to counterfeit and imitate the most high and mightiest workes of wonder of the infinite Creator, thereby to magnifie, deifie, and equall himselfe vnto God in vnbeleeuing and seduced hearts: Since, I say, this is his property, how shall the fraile vnderstanding and capacitie of man distinguish the maruailes of the diuell, so liuely resembled thereto, from the true miracles, and truly miraculous workes of God, that thereby with more facility, and lesse confusion, industrious mindes may discouer the proper workes and acts of the Diuell, and his associates, Enchaunters, Witches, and Sorcerers? First, the true miracles of God being transcendent aboue all created power, and the immediate effects only of a creating vertue, Almighty God for his sole good will and pleasure doth vsually and euer dispense by the hands and through the administration of holy men, *Prophets* and *Apostles* manifestly called of God. Secondly, the end and scope of Gods miracles, directly and mainely ayme and are bent at the glory of God, and the benefit of his people, not vnto any priuate end, any particular vaine end, tending to satisfaction of priuate lusts and curiositie.

For this cause the holy Apostles vsed the gift of miracles not vnto any other ends, then vnto the confirmation of that holy Gospel, which they preached and published from God, neither did they therein ascribe ought vnto their own

praise or glory, but solely vnto the praise and glory of God, and the good of his Church.

That this was their true end, and ought to be the scope and end of all that receiue the power of miracles from God, Saint *Paul* doth witnesse and teach, 1. *Cor. chap.* 12. *verse* 4, 5, 6, 7. Now there are (saith he) diuersities of gifts, but the same Spirit: and there are diuersities of administrations, but the same Lord: and there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is giuen to euery man to profit withall.

It is from hence manifest, that if any miracles procede from God as Author, they are dispensed by men, sanctified by God, and who can and are able to prooue and iustifie their warrant from God: as also that these men of God doe solely professe and bend them vnto the glory of God, and the weale of his Church. This then is the square and infallible rule by which all miracles doe stand or fall, and are approoued either to be of God, or conuinced to be of Diuels.

Let vs then conclude this point, with that excellent and diuine saying of *Theophilact*, vpon the 9. *chap.* of S. *Luke*. *Prædicatio miraculis & miracula prædicatione sanciuntur. Multi enim sæpe miracula ediderunt per Dæmones, sed eorum doctrina non erat sana, quamobrem eorum miracula non extiterunt a Deo.* That is, the word of God doth establish and confirme the truth of miracles, and miracles ratifie and confirme the authoritie and truth of the word. For many haue done miracles by the power of the Diuell, but their doctrine was corrupt and not sound; and therefore their miracles were not of God. Whereseuer therefore miracles or supernaturall workes shall dare to shew their heads, not contained within those limits or compasse, that is neither procoued immediately from God himselfe, nor mediately by him reuealed in his writ & word of truth, they are iustly to be suspected to issue from the enemies of God; the Diuell, and euill Spirits, and therefore their Authors ought

to

to be accomptant therein vnto Iustice, and all religious Ministers and seruants of God and Iustice, in the most strict and seuere extent of Law. And thus much concerning the manifestation of the supernaturall workes of Witches and Sorcerers, vnto or through the outward Sense.

CHAP. VII.

The workes of the Diuell or Witches manifest to Reason, or consequence of Reason, and how detected.

ALl doubts being cleared, it hath vndoubtedly appeared how supernaturall and spirituall workes are apparent to sense. It now followeth to declare, how likewise they are euident to Reason, or necessary to consequence of Reason.

Those things are said to be proper obiects of Reason and vnderstanding: which, being remote from the immediate view or notice of the outward senses, are grounded vpon vniuersall and intellectuall knowne positions, propositions, and certaine vndoubted generall notions, by necessary collections, or raciocinations. That we may build the foundation of this our Reason or Raciocination vpon the infallible truth of Gods holy Word which shall neuer be shaken: let vs for the detection of Witches and Sorcerers, by reason, and consequence of reason, syllogise directly, and immediately from God himselfe.

Thus saith Almighty God, *Isaiah chap. 8. verse.* 19. And when they shall say vnto you, Enquire of those that haue a Spirit of Diuination, and at the South-sayers, which murmure and whisper, should not a people enquire of their God? Vnder this interrogatiue (should not a people inquire of their God?) is vnderstood this affirmatiue; A people should enquire of no other Spirit, but of their God alone.

From this holy text and writ, reason doth assume and collect necessarily, and truly.

First,

First, that many things are hidden from the knowledge of man, which are reuealed vnto the science and knowledge of Spirits. Otherwise neither would man aske or enquire of Spirits (as hath beene vsuall in all ages) neither should God haue occasion here to forbid the enquiring at Spirits. That the ignorance also of man in things knowne to Spirits, is the true, first and originall motiue or reason for enquiring at Spirits, is very plaine by the words of King *Saul*, 1. *Sam*. 28. 15. God is departed from me (saith he) vnto the vision of *Samuel*, raised by the Diuell, and answereth me no more, neither by Prophets, neither by dreames: therefore haue I called thee, that thou maist tell mee what I should doe.

Here is a manifest grant of knowledge in Spirits aboue men. Secondly, reason doth hence collect, that all Spirits that doe suffer themselues to be enquired at, are euill Spirits, and therefore Diuels; because Almighty God hath here expressely forbidden the enquiring at any other Spirit beside himselfe: and therefore good and holy Spirits will not, nor * can not disobey the commandement of God, nor countenance or assist men in so doing. Thirdly, reason doeth necessarily hence conclude, that such men as are enquired at for reuelations of things hidden from the skill and possibilitie of knowledge in man, are Sorcerers, Witches, and South-sayers, if promising and performing according thereto really, and yet not warranted by God his word, nor assisted by nature.

* Angeli boni non possunt peccare, Pet. Lomb. d. 7. l. 2.

This doth consume that white Magick of the purgis which is supposed or pretended conference with good Spirits.

The consequence and inference of this reason is iust; for that to promise those things, or to vndertake those things which are out of their own knowledge, and solely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits and Diuels, doeth manifestly proue in the performance, their interest, societie, and contract with Spirits and Diuels, which is Sorcery and Witch-craft.

It may bee here obiected, that there are some men who affect to bee resorted vnto, and to bee enquired at in things supposed hidden from the knowledge of man, and to be reputed

puted able vnto such Reuelations, though haply they practise to deceiue, vnder the colour or pretence, of such abilitie.

It is iustly hereto answered, that this their presumption ought to be seuerely enquired into, whether it doe taste of ought that is diabolicall, of the Diuell, or supernaturall: and if nothing so doe, yet in this Grand cause of God himselfe, the religious iealousie of the prudent Magistrate, ought to punish their presumption, which dare affect to vndertake the name or note of a sinne, so odious and abominable vnto Almightie God. Let vs for better impression, againe repeate and iterate those things which were collected out of the propounded text.

First, that there is knowledge in Spirits of things hidden, and separated from the knowledge of man.

Secondly, that such Spirits as are enquired at, and doe reueale such knowledge vnto man, are Diuels.

Thirdly, that men which doe practise to be enquired at for such supposed Reuelations, ought not onely to be iustly suspected, and inquired into, but that if they be found therewithall, to know and reueale those things, which are indeed and really aboue and beyond the knowledge of man, and are properly and onely in the power of Spirits; that then this doth infallibly prooue their intereſt power, and societie with Diuels, which is certaine and assured Sorcery and Witch-craft.

And thus hath reason drawne a demonstration out of the booke of God, of a certaine Witch, and manifest Sorcerer. Let vs now exercise our selues in the consideration, examination, and try all of some particulars herein.

It is said of *Apollonius*, that he foretold the day, the houre of the day, the moment of the houre: wherein *Caecius Nerua* the Emperour should die, long before the time and being in farre distant places remooued from him. It is reported of the same *Apollonius*, that being consulted by one who for that purpose came vnto him, how he might grow rich, *Apollonius* appointed him to buy a certaine

field or ground, and to be carefull in tilling and plowing thereof, which after he had done a while, he found in the end a great treasure and so became rich. It is written of the same *Apollonius* also, He made knowne vnto *Titus Vespasian*, the time and manner of his death, requiring it at his hands. These things with many other the like *Iames Iacobus Boissardus*, relateth in the life of *Apollonius*.

Who hath not heard of the name and mention of that famous and renowmed *British* Wizard *Merlin*, and of his high and great esteeme among Princes for his prophesies? Vnto his fore-sight and predictions, from many foregoing ages, the successes and euents of diuers Princes affaires, in their seuerall raignes, haue beene vsually by diuers times and histories referred.

For this cause Master *Camden*, in the description of *Caermarden-shire*, doth terme him the *Tages* of the *Britans*.

Speede in his tractate of the ancient Inhabitants of great *Britane*; as also of the life of *Aurelius*, *Ambrosius*, and of the raigne of King *Iohn*, and of *Henry* the fourth, doth out of *Malmesbury*, and others, recite diuers accidents and euents, in seuerall succeeding ages, vnto his oraculous and miraculous illuminations, ascribed to haue beene foreseene, foretold, and knowne.

If there be truth in those Oracles, and ancient foreseeing Reuelations, they doe necessarily inferre the assistance of a power, farre superiour vnto all the power of man. Therefore whosoeuer doth finde them true, must conclude their Author a Witch or Sorcerer. Neither hath the generall reception, or opinion of Authors, beene herefrom different, who haue published him the sonne of an *Incubus*, or the sonne of a Witch, begotten by the Diuell. As it is said of this ancient time-noted, and age-viewed Sorcerer; so may be testified of many other.

What shall we iudge of that infamous woman, among the French, called *Ioane* of *Arc*, by others *Ioane Pucell de Dieu?* *Iohn de Serres*, the French Historian, doth report that she had many miraculous Reuelations, whereof the

King

King (then *Charles* the ſeauenth) and all his Armie and men of warre, were open wondering witneſſes, and in thoſe reuelations for the moſt part, there was found no leſſe wondrous truth, then true wonder, as ſaith *Serres*, although ſome others haue iudged her an Impoſtereſſe only. By her ſole incouragement, and ſtout aſſurance of ſucceſſe, built vpon miraculous reuelations, the French proſperouſly incountred the victorious Engliſh in France, at ſeuerall times, and againſt all humane reaſon, recouered their in reaſon-vnrecouerable, and moſt deſperate ſtanding, euen neere vnto the pit of vtter downefall, with more then vnſpeakeable amaze ment and terrour, vnto the ſodainely confounded Engliſh.

Notwithſtanding, at length ſhee was taken priſoner by the Engliſh, executed and burnt for her Witch-craft. What ſhall wee ſay or iudge of other the like Authors, and broachers of ſupernaturall reuelations, and predictions in other times? The fore-mentioned Hiſtorian reporteth, that a Wizard foretold Duke *Biron* of his death, and that hee ſhould dye by the backe blow of a *Burguignon*, who afterward prooued his Executioner, beeing that Countrey man.

Melanction our of *Carion* doeth recite the mention of a woman, of the order of the *Druides* among the *Tungri*, who foretold *Diocleſian* that hee ſhould bee Emperour of *Rome*, when he had firſt killed a Boare, which prooued afterward one *Aper*, then an Vſurper, which in the Latine tongue ſignifieth a Boare.

Suetonius writeth of a Diuinour, who long before was able to make knowne the death, and the manner of the death, and murder of *Iulius Cæſar*.

Philippe de Commines, in his 8. booke, chap. 19. doeth make mention of one Frier *Hierome*, and of his many admirable reuelations and predictions, concerning the affaires of the King of *France*, which as from Friers owne mouth, hee himſelfe did oft heare, ſo with his owne eyes hee did witneſſe and behold their iſſue true. It was diſputed,

sputed, whether in these transcendent reuelations the Frier were a * man of God or no, and it is doubtfully there concluded.

In these like reuelations and prophecies, reason cannot deny, but must acknowledge the manifest impression and stampe, of more then humane Science or demonstration. If wee desire or affect more specially to viewe what our owne Histories at home afford: who can deny him a Wizard, or Witch, who as Master *Speede* and others testifie, in the reigne of *Richard* the Vsurper foretold, that vpon the same stone where hee dash his spurre, riding toward *Bosworth* field, hee should dash his head in his returne: which prooued accordingly true, when being slaine in battell, hee was carryed naked out of the field, and his head hanging low by the horse side behinde his beater, did smite vpon the same stone in repassage, where before in passage hee had strooken his heele and spurre.

What can be deemed lesse of the Author of that prophecie in *Edward* the fourth; that is, that * *G.* should murder King *Edwards* heires, which *G.* vnderstood of the Duke of *Glocester*, was too true.

How can he likewise escape the iust suspition of the same foule crime, from whom originally or first was deriued that prophecie or prediction in *Henry* the fist, concerning his sonne, as yet then vnborne, *videlicet*, that what *Henry* of *Monmouth* should winne (which was *Henry* the fist) *Henry* of *Windsor* should lose (which was *Henry* the sixt and his sonne) as it after came truely to passe? These things as I said before, doe necessarily inferre a power farre superiour, vnto the power of man, and therefore prooue their voluntarie vndertakers Witches, or Sorcerers. This doeth *Binsfeldius* in his Tract, *de Malef. confessionib.* confidently affirme in these words, *Referri non possunt ad causas naturales, sed ad Dæmonas hi effectus, nempe responsa dare de occultis ferri, per aerem, per loca remotissima.* That is, these things can haue no relation vnto naturall causes, namely, to giue answere vnto things hidden from man, to flie in the ayre, and

* Some Authors doe write, that this man was an holy man, and a man of God. If it may be prooued, that he receiued those his reuelations frō God. I doe subscribe. If it cannot be prooued, that hee did receiue them from God, it is most certaine, that they were of the Diuell, since in supernaturall reuelations there can be no other medium.

* *Speede.*

and the like, but are to be attributed vnto the power of the Diuell, or Diuels.

But here may bee obiected, that since it is said by God himselfe, that no man ought to aske of any other Spirit, but of God alone, things hidden and vnreuealed to men, *Isa.* 8. *verse* 19. before alleadged; and since for that cause it is not to be doubted, that many things may be reuealed by God vnto men, for this cause and reason (I say) it may be deemed and obiected, that some of the former reuelations and prophecies may bee free from the imputation of Witch-craft, and Sorcery.

It is vnanswerably answered to this obiection: First, that all the reuelations and prophecies which are of God, are euer published by Prophets, & men of God, immediately called by God himselfe, vnto those functions and places. Secondly, those vessels, and seruants of God, which are the publishers of Gods reuelations or prophecies, doe euer auouch, and openly professe God himselfe, to bee Author thereof, from whom they onely claime, and openly proclaime their immediate, and expresse warrant and Commission, as appeareth by all the prefixions of their prophecies: Thus saith the Lord, The Word of the Lord, The burden of the Lord, The reuelation of Iesus Christ, and the like. Thirdly, the reuelations and prophecies, which are thus deriued and sent from God, carry in them selues some manifest stampe of their authority, and power from God, in some fruites or effects correspondent, and answerable to the nature, will, and pleasure of God, and are directly and originally bent, and intended vnto the glory of God; and the publike weale, and good of his Church, and people.

By these notes, and infallible markes of Gods holy prophecies and reuelations, may bee euidently discerned a cleere difference, and distinction thereof from diuellish predictions, and Sorcerous Prognostications, which therefore cannot shrowde, or hide themselues vnder colour or pretense thereof, being duely and rightly expended.

It may bee yet further obiected, that some learned and

truely religious seruants of God (though no publike Ministers, of Propheticall functions or callings) haue had sometimes their speciall reuelations of some particular things, in which it were not onely manifestly iniurious, but plainly & extremely ridiculous to accompt them Witches. It is true, and cannot be denyed, that Almighty God sometimes, by dreames, sometimes by secret prodigies, doeth admonish some his priuate seruants, good and holy men, of some things to come, for their owne priuate and retired reformation, information or better preparation; not for prophane or trifling ends, or vses, but that any prophecies or reuelations, can be of God, that are obscurely whispred, or cast abroad for such vses, by any vnwarranted or prophane Authors, without any manifest warrant, Commission or authoritie from God, in the vpright iudgement of all men, that truely worship and feare the true God, the God of hostes, is much irreligion, and prophane credulitie to auouch, or affirme. Nay, it is altogether contrary and contradictory, and therefore impossible to God his miraculous reuelations, visions and prophecies, ordinarily, or commonly to serue, or waite vpon the ordinary ends, or vses of priuate men, since all true miracles, and miraculous reuelations are euer in their proper nature, and true end, solely attendant vpon God his immediate command and Word, vnto his extraordinary workes. To make it therefore ordinary, or a thing common, or of customary practice, to foretell or giue prediction of things to come, must necessarily proceede from the Diuell, since the gift of true prophesie, and the Spirit of true reuelation, is not subiected to the common or vsuall intentions of men; neither can profit or commodity, or sale bee made thereof by men at their pleasure, as is not vnacquainted with all the disciples of *Simon Magus*, Sorcerers and Witches, in their markets and fayres made of their prophecies and reuelations.

If men these whispered reuelations cannot bee of God, then are they necessarily of the Diuell. If they proceed from the Diuell, then by an inuitable conclusion, those men

men are his instruments or organs, by whom or through whom they originally flowe, or are deriued vnto men and published. It may be yet further obiected, that women possessed by the Diuell, as were those women in the Gospel, whose bodies the Diuell did really rend and teare (in whom hee did roare and crie out) whom hee cast into the midst of the people. It may be (I say) obiected, that in those possessed and the like, there may be reuealed many things hidden from men, without the imputation or iust opinion of Witch-craft or Sorcerie in them.

That this may bee, is manifest in the Gospel, where the Diuell in the possessed vttered wordes of knowledge then hidden from men, but by extraordinary reuelation, when hee acknowledged our Sauiour to bee Iesus the Sonne of the liuing God. This could not in any possibilitie of mans reason bee knowne vnto the possessed, because it was then but in part reuealed vnto the Disciples themselues, who were as yet but learners themselues and Scholers of that Diuinitie; neither had the naturall man, or the world as yet so much as tasted, or sauoured any notice thereof.

The like may bee obiected concerning those that are obsessed. I call them obsessed, in whose bodies outwardly appearing no extraordinarie signes or tokens of the Diuels corporall presidence, or * residence in them (as was in the possessed manifest) yet are their mindes, vnderstanding, wils, and reason palpably obserued to bee besieged, captiued and inchanted, by an extraordinary and more then naturall, or rather an infernall inuasion of the Diuels illusions, for the magnifying and aduancing whereof, the Diuell doth oft-times mixe and temper them with some rare and wonderfull reuelations by or through the obsessed deliuered.

From these obiections both concerning the possessed, and also the obsessed, doeth issue a necessary sequell, that prophecies and reuelations are not alwayes inseparable testimonies of a Witch.

* Master Perkins in his discourse of Witchcraft chap. 2. pag. 122. doth likewise. Witches vnto whom the Diuell is not inwardly, but from without doth inspire them and within whom he is, as was the Pythonisse at Philippi. Acts 16. 16.

It

It is truely hereto answered, that solely and simply revelations are not sufficient euidences, or conuictions of a Witch, or Sorcerer, but with difference and distinction.

Supernaturall reuelations vnrequiredly transfused and transferred by the Diuell, doe not proouue the persons in whom they are found, to bee their owne free or desirous Agents in consent therein, but rather properly and truely the Diuels Patients, and therefore it cannot be their guilt, but his intrusion, usurpation, and insidiation: but supernaturall reuelations, in which any man shall knowingly, and deliberately consult with, or inquire at a knowne Spirit, and inioying the free libertie of his will, not depraued or corrupted by illusions or diseases, shall with consent or allowance thereof entertaine, commerce conference or assistance of Spirits vnto that purpose: such reuelations (I say) wheresoeuer truely and duely detected, doe demonstratiuely and infallibly point on a Witch or Sorcerer, by what way soeuer hee doe practise with the Diuell, whether by coniuration, spels, or other Magicke rites, or by vulgar trading with him, by familiar speech and expresse contract, as is most vsuall with vulgar and vnlearned Witches. It is not the different manner of contracting, or couenanting with the Diuell, that maketh a new or a different species of a Witch, for by what name soeuer, in what manner soeuer, any man doeth contract with the Diuell, hee is a Witch or Sorcerer, saith *Zanfelius*, and inuocateth the Diuell.

Although therefore the possessed, or obsessed, are iustly acquit in their reuelations and prophecies, because transmitted or sent vnrequired, and vnknowingly vnto them, yet cannot the Witch or Sorcerer bee any thing at all aduantaged, or cleared in his reuelations, which are euer detected to bee both by him affected (as is procued by his mercenarie sale thereof) and also are fore-thought and premeditate, as is euident by his promised and couenanted vndertaking thereof, according to conditions or agreement.

That

That we may make this point yet more cleere, let vs yet farther examine, and conſider what Witch-craft is. Theſe are the expreſſe wordes of *Binſeldius* a Papiſt Diuine, in his tract *de Confeſſionibus Sagarum & Veneficorum. Vt fiat maleficium hac tria concurrant neceſſe eſt inquit, Deus permittens, ſecundo Diaboli poteſtas, tertio hominis malefici voluntas libere conſentiens.* That is, vnto Witch-craft three things neceſſarily concurre: firſt God permitting: ſecondly the Diuell working: thirdly, man thereto conſenting or yeelding his free-will. Vnto the very ſame purpoſe, ſaith a learned Proteſtant Diuine our countriman, *Perkins* in his deſcription of Witch-craft, including the worke or aſſiſtance of the Diuell, the permiſſion of God, and a wicked art freely practiſed by man, and chap. 5. of his diſcourſe of Witch-craft, hee pronounceth alſo him a Witch, whoſoeuer wittingly or willingly conſenteth to vſe the aide or aſſiſtance of the Diuell, in the working of wonders aboue the ordinary courſe of nature. I name theſe two Diuines onely, becauſe in this particular they ſeeme to mee to haue beſt ſatisfied, and by the common conſent both of Papiſt, and Proteſtant Diuines, the trueth doeth more vncontrouerſedly appeare Catholike and firme, moſt other learned men that I haue ſeene on both parts, hauing generally or for the moſt part comparatiuely beene defectiue. *Scaliger* in his booke *de Subtilitate*, conſenteth with them both, *exercit.* 347. where ſpeaking of the impoſſibilitie, of one man hurting another meerely by bare wordes, hee hath theſe wordes.

There is a greater power then wordes ſaith hee, namely, the Diuell doeth the miſchiefe vpon the vttering of ſuch words; and the fooliſh ſottiſh man, that pronounceth or vttereth them, ſuppoſeth that by vertue of his words it is done. *Ipſe igitur agit Daemon (inquit) ſtultus & vecors putat ſuis ſe verbis agere*; vnto the ſame effect are the words of S. *Auguſtine*, by Magicke Art ſaith hee, miracles and things aboue nature are brought to paſſe, *Miracula Magicis artibus fiunt. lib. 3. de Trinitate.* The word Magicke

doeth insinuate, or imploy, or include both a Diuell, and a supernaturall effect or miracle, as in the former words of *Scaliger*, also the supernaturall effect and consequent of mumbling, argued a power in them aboue the power of a meere voyce, or speech, which therefore saith *Scaliger*, was the Diuell. In both likwise, the will and consent of man was apparent. In the first, where S. *Augustine* calleth Magicke an Art, that imployeth a mans consent, for that Artes are willingly, and wittingly studied by man. In the second, where *Scaliger* in the mumbling of words of supernaturall effect, affirmeth that the foolish man who vttered them, supposed those effects to proceed from his words; his vttering therefore such words, with that expectance, prooued his liking and consent vnto such effects. And thus it is vndoubtedly apparent, by these Authors in their descriptions of Magicke, and Witch-craft, that necessarily by consent of reason, though not alwayes in expresse wordes, is vnderstood and included, both something supernaturall, and the will and consent of man thereto. And this may yet bee made apparent, by the words of the same *Scaliger*, *Exercit.* 327. *Magi (inquit) suas effectiones violentias appellant: propterea quod vires suas supra eas, quæ naturæ ordine fieri videntur exercent.* That is, Magitians tearme their workes violencies, because they exercise violent force, or power, aboue the course or order of humane nature. The Magitians giuing names vnto their workes, aboue humane power or nature, and boasting them as their owne, doth prooue their free will and consent. Those their workes being supernaturall, doe prooue them to bee of the Diuell, as the very vsuall vnderstanding of the word Magitian, whereby they are ordinarily tearmed, doeth testifie. And thus it is manifest. First, that in Witch-craft the effect or worke done is supernaturall, aboue the reach and power of man. Secondly, that in that worke the Magitian, or Witch, hath a willing interest.

And hence now is manifest also, what Witch-craft is, namely, a worke or effect, aboue the nature or power of man,

man, wherein notwithſtanding is the will, conſent, and aſſent of man. This no man can deny, the demonſtration being ſo euident.

It now followeth to enquire, how this Witch-craft ſhall bee detected, or diſcouered; Secondly, how ſhall mans free will, or conſent therein be diſcouered. Vnto the firſt, is eaſily anſwered, *videlicet*, the ſupernaturall worke or effect doeth appeare by it ſelfe, when it is manifeſt and apparent aboue the nature, reach, and power of man, ſuch as are diuers effects and workes formerly mentioned. Vnto the ſecond I anſwere, that mans free will, good will, conſent, aſſent, or allowance therein is diſcouered by the ſame true actes or meanes, whereby any man his conſent or aſſent is vſually diſcouered, indicted, and arraigned in the caſe of Treaſon, Murder, Fellonie.

In caſe of Treaſon, Murder, Fellonie, conſent is diſcouered in vſuall courſe and practiſe of the Law, either by ſome manifeſt act promoting or furthering thoſe wicked intents, or by conniuence therein: by wilfully not ſeeing, or by ſilence, or not reuealing.

As therefore in thoſe hainous crimes iuſtly; ſo in this high Treaſon againſt God, and adherence vnto his enemie the Diuell, in like manner any man his wicked aſſent, content, or good liking, is to be traced and diſcouered by any act tending vnto the promoting thereof, by his conniuing, willingly concealing, or ſilence: For as in caſe of Treaſon, Murther, Fellonie, whoſoeuer permitteth or admitteth any of thoſe crimes, whoſoeuer only conſenteth thereto, conniueth, keepeth counſell, or concealeth, is iuſtly by the law held, iudged, and condemned as a Traytor, Murderer, or Fellon himſelfe; So by the ſame equitie and reaſon in high Treaſon againſt God (ſuch as is Witch-craft and adhering vnto the Diuell his enemie) whoſoeuer ſhall conſent thereto, conniue, or giue allowance is certainly a Witch himſelfe, and guilty of Witchcraft. This is the reaſon why all Writers, with one conſent doe as well hold and condemne for Witchcraft the tacit contract as the expreſſe.

Wherein in expresse termes vocally any man couenanteth with the Diuell, or contracteth. A tacit contract is, when any man taketh vpon him to doe, that by naturall causes, which causes are allowed no such effects in course of nature, nor yet are allowed vnto any such effects beside the course of nature; Either by God, his Word, or by the Ordinances of his Church. To this effect expresely saith *Bintsfeldius lib. de Confess. Maleficor & Sagarum: Tacite (inquit) inuocatur Dæmon quoties quis contendit illud, facere per causes naturales, quæ nec virtute sua naturali, neque ex Diuina, aut Ecclesiastica possunt illud facere.* To the same purpose saith *Perkins cap.* 5. of his discourse of Witch craft, giuing allowance, saith he, vnto meanes not allowed by God maketh a Witch. That there are such effects, the same Author doth instance in another place, in these words, *Referri (inquit) non possunt ad causas naturales sed ad Dæmonas hi effectus, ferri per aerem dare responsa de occultis;* That is, these effects cannot be referred vnto any naturall causes, but vnto the power of Diuels, namely, to flye in the ayre, to reueale things hidden from man. For this cause also saith *Perkins*, Diuining of things to come peremptorily, conuinceth the Author a Witch.

To conclude therefore, whosoeuer taketh vpon him to doe these things, or the like, and cannot iustifie them done according vnto the vertue or power of naturall causes, or (if besides course of nature) cannot proeue or warrant them to be of God, neither by his Word, nor Ordinance of his Church, that man is a Magitian, a Witch, or Sorcerer. But here it is requisite, and fit that men doe distinguish betweene things vnwarrantably done beside course of nature; and therefore necessarily to be tryed and iudged by those rules of Gods Word, and Church, And betweene those things, which are likewise vnwarrantably done, but are aboue the course of nature, yet are likewise to be tried by the same rules, and limits of Gods Word, and Church.

For as besides course of nature are many things, as Sacraments

craments, rites, Ceremonies, which are to haue allowance of their being from the same limitations, or else are to be condemned. So there are things aboue nature as miracles, which also are to haue their allowance, and approbation by the former rules.

It followeth therefore necessarily from hence, that whatsoeuer supernaturall effect, or aboue the power, or nature of man doth happen, and is not warranted or allowed by God, his Word, or Church, that certainly is of the Diuell. If it be of the Diuell, then whosoeuer doth allow, yeeld his good will, consent, or by any way or meanes, or art doth promote or further, it is a Witch, as he who in Treason, or Murther, conniueth or consenteth, is a Traytor or Murderer as is aforesaid. That a supernaturall worke, or an effect aboue nature, is to be held Diabolicall, is not only prooued by examination and triall of God, his Word, and Church, but reason it selfe doth also demonstrate it. Euery supernaturall effect, hath a supernaturall cause. Euery supernaturall cause is God, or the Diuell, there being no meane betweene, but one or the other. Good Angels or spirits doe worke their supernaturall effects also or aboue nature, but those their supernaturall workes are alwaies directed and commanded by God, and therefore are of God, and carrie with them euidence immediate from God. All supernaturall workes that are of God, are warranted from God. Therefore whatsoeuer supernaturall worke cannot be warranted of God, is of the Diuell. Whether it may be warranted to be of God, will appeare easily by the former limitations and rules. If therefore a supernaturall worke appeare not to be of God, by the former limitations, and examinations; then is it certainly of the Diuell. By necessary consequence, therefore of reason it followeth, that whosoeuer vnto any such effect or worke, thus demonstratiuely discouered to be of the Diuell, doth giue any allowance, or consent, though neuer so tacitly, or closely, yea though ignorant of the qualitie or degree of the sin, yet in his rash and vnaduised and inconsiderate yeelding or con-

conniuing therein, he is guiltie, accessary, and a very Witch himselfe, as is aforesaid in case of Treason, and the like grieuous offences against a Prince or State. For the ignorance of the law excuseth no man, yea and in this particular, So many faire directions by learned Writers giuen, doth leaue men inexcusable, and maketh ignorance wilfull, and resolute, and excludeth easie pardon. Neither can the most simple ignorance iustifie any man, although it may qualifie the degree or grieuousnesse of punishment.

If this law seeme strict and hard. Let men consider the greatnesse, and grieuousnesse of the sinne, and the pernicious consequence thereof. Which iustly doth vrge, and impose the necessary; fearefull rigour, and strictnesse of the law. The necessitie and equitie hereof is apparent in case of high Treason aforesaid against a Prince, or State, wherein vsually they who are simply, or ignorantly drawne, or vsed, or are instruments in any sort, to further or promote the mischiefe, are as well lyable vnto the seuere inquisition, and terrible censure of the law, as are they who were the maine plotters and contriuers. Witchcraft is high Treason against God himselfe, a combining, and adhering vnto his enemie the Diuell, a desperate renouncing of God and all goodnesse, and a worship of Diuels. In this abominable sinne therefore, in any kinde or sort, in any manner or action, to befriend, aide or conniue: is no lesse then high Treason against God also, wherein as well the accessarie as the principall are both guiltie. Whosoeuer therefore shall in matter of this high nature or danger, dare or hazard to doe any thing that may be questioned or iustly suspected in that kinde, or to tend thereto, cannot be by his ignorance excused.

Thus obiections doubts and impediments removed, let vs build a neuer-deceiuing, and inuiolate conclusion concerning Witches, vpon this neuer-failing nor shaken foundation: that is, all supernaturall workes reuelations or prophecies whatsoeuer, that issue not either immediately, and manifestly from God himselfe, or from his Word

or

or Church allowed (the proofe and touchstone whereof hath beene before touched, and briefely declared) or from the Diuell in the ignorant possessed or obsessed, or are not counterfeit and imposturous (which is likewise else-where in the due place considered) all other reuelations or works (I say) whatsoeuer, not excepted nor included in one of these, are vndoubtedly issuing from Witches and Sorcerers, and are certaine and demonstratiue proofes and euidences of Witch-craft and Sorcery, in whom they are originally first detected. And thus how Reason doth cull and draw forth a Witch or Sorcerer, hath euidently beene cleared and declared.

CHAP. VIII.

Of diuers kindes and manners, wherein Sorcerers and Witches, receiue knowledge from Spirits.

AS Almightie God hath out of the Text before mentioned, *Isaiah* 8. in generall made euident, who is infallibly a Witch or Sorcerer: so hath he in other places of Scripture manifested some of their seuerall kinds, according to the different shapes and formes, in which they doe enquire at Spirits for their knowledge and reuelations.

This is apparent out of the 18. *chap.* of *Deuteronomie, verse* 10. Let none bee found amongst you that vseth Witch-craft. What Witch-craft is, was before out of the Prophet *Isaiah* declared.

Now in this place doth follow the enumeration of some of the speciall or particular shapes in which they shroud themselues. Let none be found among you (saith the Prophet) that vseth Witch-craft: and immediatly after doth adde those particular formes in which they enquire: A regarder of times: a marker of the flying of fowles: a Charmer: a Sooth-sayer, or that asketh counsell of the dead. As therefore before we prooued, that the infallible true note of a Witch in generall, and in common vnto all Witches,

ches, and Sorcerers, of what kinde ſo euer, is to be enquired at in things hidden from men (as is likewiſe by thoſe words of *Saul* apparent, *Sam. 1. chap. 28 verſe 7.* Seeke mee a woman that hath a familiar Spirit, that I may goe to her and aske of her:) ſo here in this text are reckoned vp ſome of their ſeuerall ſhapes, by which in true and ſound reaſon, and the due conſequent thereof, we may conſider and collect many other, though not here numbred, or mentioned.

For ſince the common and inſeparable ſigne or marke of Witches is certainely made knowne to bee, the practiſe of reuealing vnto men that enquire thoſe things which are hidden from men, and onely reuealed by Spirits: it followeth by neceſſarie conſequent, that not onely thoſe which are here ſpecially nominated, in that ſhape of marking of the flying of fowles, or of charming, or of raiſing the dead, but all other whatſoeuer, in what other ſhape ſo euer that is, hath, or can be deuiſed, that ſhall be found to practiſe or vndertake to be enquired at, and to giue anſwer and reuelation of things ſeparated from the knowledge of man, and which God hath hidden from men, and therefore hath forbidden by Spirits to be made knowne to men; all ſuch (I ſay) in what ſhape ſo euer, as well in theſe kinds here named, are, according to the generall note of a Witch, to be iudged Witches and Sorcerers.

For as the holy Scripture hath nominated and pointed out vnto vs ſome few kinds, as a light onely vnto all the reſt: ſo may common experience by theſe bring others vnto our view, and all ages haue vpon the records of time and Hiſtorie, left vnto ſucceeding poſteritie, many ſhapes more of memorable and famous Witches, not onely in theſe ſhapes and formes ſhrowded, which are here mentioned but in many other.

Beſides thoſe kinds therefore, which here the holy Scripture hath nominated, let vs take a ſhort view of ſome other, which are in other ſhapes found (ſince all are in their common kinde and nature the ſame.) It is no ſtrange thing, that

that in the shape, and vnder the pretense of *Astrologie*, some men haue hidden forcerous practise, and performing vnder the colour thereof such things as were onely in the power of Spirits, haue thereby cleerely manifested, that they deriued and borrowed them of Spirits. *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his historie *de rebus Danicis*, doth make mention of a sort of Wizards, who would vndertake for gaine, to foretell the certaine state and constitution of weather to come so assuredly, that they would vsually sell vnto Marchants prosperous and fortunate windes, whenby aduerse and opposite gales they were deteyned from their intended voyage. Astrologers.

This kinde of Sorcerer may very rightly be referred vnto that which in *Deuter.* 18. *verse* 10. is noted by a regarder of times, which perhaps may also not vnaptly be vnderstood a *Magicall Astrologer*. His performance aboue the nature and power of his Arc, of that which is onely in the power of a Spirit, doth both deceit the Diuell to be chiefe Author of the workes, and the other to be also guilty to the worke.

That the professors of *Astrologie* haue in former ages vnto *Astrologie* ioyned this diuelliih skill and custome; as also other kinds of Diabolicall Diuinations, plainely doth appeare.

First, by the word of God, *Daniel* 2. *verse* 2. wherewith the *Astrologers*, the *Caldeans*, *Magicians*, *Sorcerers* and *Enchanters* are conioyned.

Secondly, it doth appeare by the Lawes, which by the Romane Emperours were prouided against them ioyntly together, with Caldeans, Magicians, and Southsayers. The words of one ancient Law are, *Nemo Aruspicem consulat, aut Mathematicum, nemo Ariolum, Caldeum, Magum*; that is, let it be enacted or ordered that no man aske counsell of a South-sayer, a Mathematician, an Astrologer, a Caldean, a Magician.

Dion in the 27. booke of Historie, doth make mention of Astrologers, who by diuelliih skill practised and vsed to

send the Diuell to present * dreames vnto men in their sleepe; for which cause *Tiberius* the Emperour reuenged himselfe vpon such Astrologers, though otherwise himselfe a great friend and louer of Astrologie. Sir *Christopher Heydon* in his defence of iudiciall Astrologie, doth out of *Osiander* recite this distinction of Astrologie: * *Astrologia pura quæ nihil habet de Magia*, that is, Astrologie that is not mixed, nor intermedleth with Magicke. Whereby is necessarily concluded, that Astrology may be, and sometimes is impure and defiled with Magicke and Sorcerie. In other places of the same worke, he maketh a difference betweene Astrologers * simply, and such as with Astrologie ioyned Magicke. And out of *Brentius* he reciteth these words, *Non negat Hieremias eam partem Astrologiæ, quæ sequitur manifestas naturæ rationes*; that is, the Prophet *Ieremy* doth not deny or condemne that part of Astrologie, which is guided by manifest reason or cause in nature. Hereby then is vnauoidably concluded, that the Prophet of God condemneth that part of Astrologie, which exceedeth causes and reason in nature, and that necessarily must needs be Sorcery and Magicke. As it is not obscure, that some men vnder the colour of Astrologie haue practised Magicke and Sorcery; so is it no lesse euident, that many others, vnder the pretense of aduising and counselling in Physicke, for curation or Prognostication of diseases, haue likewise exercised the same diuelish practise.

That this hath beene no new vpstart custome, the multitude of diseases, which ancient times doe register to haue beene cured by enchaunted Spells, and words, and Magicke skill, doeth plentifully witnesse. The most ancient father of all Physicke and Physicions, the incomparable worthy founder of Method and Art, [a] *Hippocrates*, [b] *Dioscorides*, [c] *Theophrastus*, with other succeeding Ancients, doe generally all acknowledge the force and power of Magicall curation. *Galen* in his younger time gaue no credit thereto, but in the more aged [d] experience of right obseruation he doeth acknowledge it. I will not stuffe this small Treatise

* This kinde of Diuell is called, Oneiropompus.

* Page 27.

* Page 29.

a Hipp. libro de Sacro morbo de Magis.
b Dioscor. li. 2. cap. 101.
c Theophrastus de hist. Plant. Trallianus, lib. 9. cap. 4.
d Galenus li. de Medica Homeni tractatione.

tise with the particular citation of euery Author. Later Physicians also of the best and most choise note, doe herein, with former ages consent and concurre, and experience doeth confirme trueth in both.

Whosoeuer is acquainted with bookes and reading, shall euery where meete a world of the wonders of cures, by wordes, by lookes, by signes, by figures, by characters, and ceremonious rites. As what the practise of former ages hath beene is manifest; so what our age and later time doeth herein afford, is almost no where in this kingdome obscure. The neerest vnto that impudence, which herein this our time doeth produce and set foorth, is that history of a *Germane* Witch, reported in the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

There was (as the Author of that worke saith) sometime a Sorceresse in *Germany*, who vsually cured not onely all that were bewitched, but all kinde of diseased people, so farre beyond all power or course of Art and Nature, and with such facility, that all vse of the Art of Physicke, or of Physicions was altogether (for a time) neglected and forsaken; while people from all Countries, both neere and remote, in such numbers and frequence resorted vnto her, that the Gouernour of that Countrey imposing vpon euery man one penny that resorted vnto her, thereby raised himselfe a mighty treasure.

What others among the most ancient Authors that are not Physicians doe publish, concerning the power of incantations in the curing of diseases is needlesse to write. He that hath read any few lines of old *Homer*, or of diuers other aged Poets, shall finde plentifull record hereof. *Herodotus* is not silent herein. But to omit all their needlesse testimonies, Physicians of these last times, of the most eminent note and worth (whose pennes are yet scarce drie) doe witnesse the trueth hereof from their owne knowledge, sight and experience. Aboue the rest, *Fernelius de Abditis rerum causis*, is worthy any mans paines or view.

Let vs now lastly see what may bee collected out of the

booke of God, concerning the power of the Diuell in curing diseases, from whom all these inferiour Agents, Witches and Sorcerers doe derive their power and skill. If it bee in his power, where God doeth permit, to induce diseases, it must needes bee in his power to cease or calme diseases; because both causing and curing, consist in the vertue and force of the same meanes. Hee therefore that knoweth how and by what cause the disease is induced, doeth necessarily vnderstand, that by the remouall of that cause it is cured, and according to that rule can equally, as well by remouall of that cause, cure, as by the induction of the cause bring sickenesse. For this reason it is a maxime in Physicke infallible, that he is the most excellent Physician, who knoweth best the causes of diseases, and who vpon the knowledge of their true causes doeth found the right method of their curation.

That the Diuell doeth both know the causes of diseases, and also how by them to procure and produce diseases, is manifest by the History of *Iob*, vpon whom he brought that grieuous genefall botch and byle, ouer all his body, *Iob chap. 2. verse 7.* That hee did this by the force of causes in nature, must needes bee euident. First, because hee is a creature, and subiect and limited by nature vnto and within her limits; and therefore is not able absolutely and simply without causes and meanes in nature, to produce any effects in nature, although our ignorance of his power and knowledge (because it so farre excelleth our power or nature) doeth call all his workes iustly supernaturall. Secondly, for that byles and botches are knowne naturall diseases; and therefore had naturall causes, although haply vnknowne to any man, and beyond the nature of knowledge or skill in man.

These reasons of the Diuels impossibilitie, to worke those effects without nature, are thus yet more briefly and cleerely made infallible. Of * nothing simply to produce any thing vnto a true being and exiſtence, is the sole and proper worke of any infinite Creator, and impossible vnto any

* Creatio est constitutio substantiæ ex nihilo, Soar. de Subst. Exercit. 16. Sect. 13.

any creature. Therefore the Diuell being a creature, could not bring those diseases vpon *Iob*, but by created meanes preexisting in created nature, in which he is contained and limited. And thus much concerning that kinde of Witch and Sorcerer, which is enquired at concerning the curing and issue of diseases, which we will conclude with this note, that all learned men of the best experience haue obserued; that in those cures by Witches and Sorcerers, the Diuell hath neuer perfectly healed, but for a time; or else where hee hath seemed most perfectly to cure, it hath beene for a reseruation of the body by him cured, vnto a greater and further mischiefe in time to succeede. Besides, this kinde of Witch, by meanes vnknowne to man, or by a supernaturall vertue in knowne meanes, aboue and beyond their nature, vndertaking to cure the sicke, or to foretell the euent and issues of diseases, there is also another kind which doeth vndertake to bee enquired at for extraordinary reuelation of such diseased persons, as are bewitched or possessed by the Diuell. This kinde is not obscure, at this day swarming in the Kingdome, whereof no man can bee ignorant, who lusteth to obserue the vncontrouled libertie and licence of open and ordinary resort in all places vnto wise-men, and wise-women, so vulgarly termed for their reputed knowledge concerning such diseased persons as are supposed to be bewitched. Wisemen and Wisewomen.

But it may bee obiected, that many of these two last mentioned sorts are rather deceiuers, and Impostors onely, who by an opinion of this power, and not by any reall power herein, doe deceiue, seduce, and beguile the people. This cannot in some be denied: notwithstanding least impious imposture bee still tolerated to bee a court to hide the manifest diuelish practise of Witches, vnder pretense thereof (whereby it shall euer continue in this shape neglected or vnspied) I will both briefely giue satisfaction how the one may bee distinguished from the other, and also declare how men ceasing to enquire at Diuels and Witches, or Impostors, may learne to enquire of their

God alone, and by the light of nature and reason (which hee hath giuen vnto them) in his feare, with his allowance and approbation, more truely and certainely informe themselues.

CHAP. IX.

Of Wizards and Impostors, how they differ from Witches.

HOw Witch craft in diuers kinds may, according to euidence of reason, be detected, hath beene before made manifest. How imposture may be discouered (sense there is so good vse and necessitie of the distinction thereof, for the more perfect separating and setting a part of Witch craft by it selfe) wee will likewise briefly make manifest.

* The Impostor is he who pretendeth truth, but intendeth falshood. For this cause sometimes vnder an holy pretense, he maketh God the [a] Author of his vnholy prestigiation, and slandereth God vnto his face, sometimes to be reputed an [b] Angell of light, he maketh himselfe a license to counterfeit the Diuell. He proposeth it his trade to seduce, and liueth by lying. Sometimes in shew and pollicitation he is a Witch but in the performance of the greater sinne hee is less iust, and in the personate resemblance solely a Iugler. For as the Witch performeth that which in true, and infallible reason is transcendent and aboue nature; so the Impostor performeth that which in false and fallible reason and opinion, onely seemeth parallel.

Hence as Witches doe strange and supernaturall workes, and truely vnto reason worthy of wonder; so the Impostor doth things voide of accomptable reason, in shadow, shew, and seeming onely supernaturall, wondred and admired. And hence it commeth to passe, that with vndiscerning mindes, they are sometimes mistaken and confounded* on for another.

* Qui oculos fallunt, alia pro aliis subditia ostentantes, ii præstigiatores ab antiquis dicti sunt. Scaliger. Impostura ab eo dicta, quod adulterinas merces, pro veris supponit, Vlpian. Impostores, dicuntur versuti & fallaces homines, qui merces adulterinas pro veris supponunt, Accursius.

a Ephes 4. 14.
b Cor. 2. 12.

* See Reginald Scot in his discouerie of Witch-craft, where in regard of the seeming likenesse of Impostures and Witch-craft, erroneously he confoundeth them as one and the sette same sinne.

From

From hence it is also necessarily concluded, that as Witchcraft is discouered by a supernaturall worke aboue reason, whereto the Witches consent is accessary; so an Impostor is detected by a worke voide of accomptable reason, but in a deceiuing false Visar or shew, wherewith the purpose and intention of the Deceiuer or Impostor doth concurre. As therefore the suspected Witch is tyed to answere vnto any iust doubt, which may bee directly vrged against his or her manifest voluntary action, that is prooued supernaturall: so is a truely doubted Impostor bound to giue satisfaction, for such his ambiguous actions, as doe in likely reason appeare fraudulent, vaine, prestigious, iuggling, couzening, or deceiuing. And thus shall each appeare in his owne true shape apart. Of diuers kinds of Witchcraft, I haue before produced examples.

I may here likewise very pertinently, for further illustration, propose some examples of Imposture in generall, that the odiousnesse of this foule sinne may appeare more foule, and the ougly face thereof may be more fully discouered. *Examples of Impostures in generall.*

Among multitude of examples, I will recite onely some few, whereof some consist in lewd and guilefull contriuement of action, other in the bewitching power of false prophecies, reuelations, predictions, and prognostications.

Concerning the first, who can be ignorant of the impious and infamous Impostures of *Mahomet*, who by guilefull counterfeit miracles, and pretended angelicall illuminated workes, first magnified and set vp that heathenish * *Empire*, and Religion of the blasphemous *Turkes*? *Example* 1.

The History of *Sebastian*, the pretended Portugall King, as it is set forth by *Iohn de Serres*, according to Master *Grimstones* translation thereof (if he were a true Impostor indeede, and were not iniuriously traduced, and blurred with vndeserued reproch) is an incomparable example, a boue and beyond many other. I will referre my Reader to the Author himselfe. 2. * Polidorus Virgil lib. 7. cap. vlt.

If we desire more neere or domesticall examples herein, behold, in the raigne of *Henry* the seuenth, * a boy of meane * *Speed.*

meane parentage, through impoſturous machinations oppoſed, ſet vp and crowned King in Ireland, againſt that famous and renowned Prince *Henry* the ſeuenth, putting him in great danger of his life and crowne of England.

4. In the late raigne of Queene *Mary*, there aroſe an Impoſtor, ſtiling himſelfe *Edward* the ſixth. The danger of the progreſſe of that Impoſtor (if it had preuailed) who knoweth not? The manifeſt wrongs, iniuries, and impeachments alſo from counterfeit prophecies, reuelations, and predictions, iſſuing not only vnto priuate men and families, but vnto Kingdomes, Empires, and Common-weales, are infinite.

5. *Iulian*, an *Emperour* of *Rome*, though otherwiſe a mightie and learned Prince, and valiant ſouldier, by a prophecie of an Impoſtreſſe or ſeeming Pythoniſſe, promiſing his conqueſt, and triumph ouer the Kingdome of *Perſia*, was thither haſtened vnto his deſerued death, and the vengeance of God vpon his infamous *Apoſtaſie*.

6. It is reported by *Iohn de Serres*, the French Cronicler, that the power and force of ſome pretended reuelations, and viſions of a young Shepheard, in the raigne of *Charles* the ſeuenth King of France, was ſo preualent, that it perſwaded *Pothon* that great and famous French Captaine, with the Marſhall of France, to arme and incounter the then victorious Engliſh in the bowels of that Kingdome; by which vnaduiſed attempt, the French were ſuppriſed and taken by the Engliſh.

7. It is recorded by the ſame Author, that one *Martha Broſier*, counterfeiting the fits and paſſions of ſuch as were poſſeſſed, in ſhort time became ſo powerfull in illuſion, that ſhe miniſtred much matter of wonder and amazement, not only vnto priuate men, but vnto the Kings Counſell, to Preachers in pulpits, yea vnto the whole Parliament, vntill the counterfeit Diuell indured ſome punithment and reſtraint, forſooke his pretended poſſeſsion.

8. If wee require examples in our owne countrey, behold, in the raigne of *Edward* the fourth, his brother *George*

* Duke

* Duke of *Clarence*, was hastened vnto his vntimely death, euen by the allowance of his brother King, vpon the feare of a vaine and flying prophecie, that *G.* of King *Edwards* heires should be the murtherer. * *Speede.*

9. In the time of *Henry* the eight, the holy Maide of *Kent* by her seeming miraculous reuelations, deceiuing not onely the common sort, but euen diuers learned and some men of the best ranke, and prime note, stirred vp in the King great iealousie, and feare of his Crowne and safety, as by the records of her attaindour doeth appeare, wherein doeth stand prooued and sentenced her treason-some imposture of most dangerous consequent, if it had obtained equall issue.

10. In the same kings raigne, the bewitching esteeme, credit, and hope of force & vertue in counterfeit predictions, and pretended reuelations, whet the ambitious heart of *Edward* * *Lord Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, first into high Treason, and to reach at the Crowne, and after from thence thrust him headlong or headlesse into his graue. * *Speede.*

11. In the raigne of *Edward* the sixt, there was a prophecie diuulged from the mouth of some pretended Wizard; by which the coniuration of *Kett*, and those *Norfolke* Rebels, was hartned and encouraged to proceede in their rebellion and outrage, vnto the great danger and damage of the Kingdome, and in the end vnto their owne destruction: That blind pretended prophecie, in the insidiation of vaine and credulous mindes, was somewhat like vnto that ambignous Oracle in the Poet.

Aio, te Æacida Romanos vincere posse:
I say, the sonne of Æacus the Romane power shall quell.

This Oracle may on either side indifferently, either actiuely or passiuely bee vnderstood. Like vnto it was that prestigious prophecie, which the rebellious *Norfolcians* with their *Kett* trusted:

Hob, Dic, *and* Hic *with clubbes and clouted shoone,*
Shall fill vp Dussin-dale *with slaughtered bodies soone.*

The Rebels vnderstanding this blinde reuelation, or prediction, concerning the victory wherein they themselues should bee Agents and not Patients, (as afterward their owne ruine did truely interpret it) and dreaming the filling vp of the *Dussin dale* to be intended of other mens dead bodies, and not their owne, where thereby incited with furious courage, vnto the hazard of the kingdome and their native Country, vntill their owne mangled and slaughtered carcases became butchered spectacles, and bloody monuments of such illusion and imposture.

22. How many other fearefull and horrid treasons haue bin built and grounded vpon other the like prodigious impostures? To recite the damages and wrongs done vnto priuate men by imposture in manifold kinds, were infinite. What should wee mention *Prior* * *Bolton* of S^t. *Bartholmewes* in *London*, who in the raigne of *Henry* the eight, vpon the impression of an vniuersall World floud, grounded vpon pretended miraculous predictions, ridiculously buildeth himselfe an house or neast on the top of Harrow hill, to saue himselfe from drowning?

* *Speede.*

What mighty terrors did the wicked imposturous predictions of strange euents in the admirable yeere 88. strike into the common people or vulgars of England? from whence, what different distractions in many priuate men did bring foorth, to relate, were iust matter of profound laughter. What translations of dwellings, peregrinations into other Countries, exchange of inheritances for monies, and other ridiculous extrauagant molitions did the approach of that yeere diuersly prepare? I will not waste paper in any more * particular recitals: Our later age and time hath not beene barren of many wicked and harmefull fruites of imposturous prophecies, neither haue they altogether escaped the eye of Iustice, nor the blurre of infamy written

* Philippe de Comminis, booke 4. cha. 10. taxeth our English Nation for the multitude and vanity of flying Prophecies in this kinde.

written in their names and chronicled memory. And although many impoſtures (becauſe practiſed vpon priuate and more obſcure perſonages) are leſſe knowne and publiſhed, then ſuch as are committed againſt Princes and States, and therefore are more remarkeable in the eyes of all men, yet are they both equally in their natures pernicious. It were not now impertinent from the declaration of the miſchiefes of impoſture in generall, to deſcend vnto ſome ſuch in particular, as are practiſed vnder the lying pretenſe and falſe colour of a tranſcendent and Magicke vertue. In examples of this kinde, *Reignald Scott* doeth ouer-abound in his diſcouery. I haue my ſelfe noted and knowne ſome men (I could ſay ſome men of the Clergie) who to draw wonder and cuſtome vnto their practiſe in Phyſicke (wherein Sacriligiouſly they ſpend their beſt and chiefe time and howers, with open neglect of God and his ſeruice.) I know ſome I ſay, who are not aſhamed prophanely and moſt irreligiouſly, to affect among vulgars, to gaine the opinion of skill in Coniuration, Magicke, and Diuell-charming.

Examples of impoſture vnder colour of Magicke skill or Witch craft.

By this impoſturous Art or deuice many yeeres together (not among men Religious, Orthodoxe, or iudiciouſly learned) but among vulgars, and ſometimes alſo among ſome great and mighty men) they haue become vnworthily magnified Phyſitions, aboue other farre more worthy, and performing ſometimes, ſome things praiſe worthy (as is oft-times contingent vnto the meaneſt practiſers) they ſtill gaine countenance, and time to robbe God of the firſt fruites of their time, ſtrength, and labours, and the Church of their more requiſite maine ſtudy and imployment. It is not vnknowne how common it is among theſe men, to profeſſe the erecting of figures, the giuing of anſweres as Wizards, the reuealing of things hidden, as Magitians, vnto the great diſhonour of God, the ſhame of the Church, the Lawes and Kingdome. How vſuall it is with many other Iuglers and Mountibankes, by the reputation of Witches impoſturouſly to promiſe, and vn-

dertake miraculous curations, and Prognostications of diseases and their issues, is not vnknowne vnto any common obseruer: wherein, for breuitie sake, and to auoide confusion, and the crambe or iteration of the same things. I will referre the Reader to a former manuell, called *The discouery of Erroneous practises in Phisicke*, where although, by reason of my absence beyond and beside the *Errata*, many errours both in some words and sense, doe still remaine; yet there are many things in this kinde worthy notice. Read page 71. the Treatise of Wizards; likewise, in the second marginall note of the page 53. an History of a Chirurgeon, famous in curing such as were bewitched: Likewise page 109. 110. 111. an History of imposture, vnder the colour and pretense of the inspection and iudging of Vrines: and likewise, page 60. and from thence vnto the end of that whole Chapter. There is a very rare, but true, description of a Gentlewoman, about sixe yeeres past, cured of diuers kindes of convulsions, and other Apoplecktike, Epileptike, Cataleptike, and Paralytike fits, and other kindes of accidents of affinitie therewith. After shee was almost cured of those diseases, but the cure not fully accomplished, it was by a reputed Wizard whispered, and thereupon beleeued, that the Gentlewoman was meerely bewitched, supposed Witches were accused. The Gentlewoman hath beene free from all those accidents there mentioned, the space of sixe yeeres now past.

In this last past seuenth yeere, since the writing of that history, some of the former fits are * critically againe returned: the same Wizard or Deceiuer resorted vnto and enquired at, doeth now againe auouch her to bee bewitched; vpon opinon whereof and trust in his illusion, the timely vse and benefit of due counsell hath beene much omitted and neglected. Her diseases which formerly, farre exceeded these which now are, in number, frequence and vehemence, were in shorter space cured, and so continued the space of sixe yeeres together. These few which now doe returne, due counsell and time neglected, though being

* Plurimæ vtem passiones pueritiæ indicantur in septem mensibus nonnullæ in 7. anno Hipp. Aphor 28 lib. 3. Morbi Diutini ad septenarii rationem habent Crisim, non septenarii quoad menses modo, sed quoad annos. Galen. in dictum Aphorism.

being in number fewer, lesse intricate, and farre lesse violent, haue notwithstanding a farre larger space of time continued.

If that Counseller or vndertaker to counsell, be a Wizard in name and reputation only (as I doe gesse and deeme him) then is this History an incomparable example and instance of the wickednesse, impietie and crueltie of imposture and Impostours. If he be found a Witch, then is it an vnanswerable euidence and instance of the Diuels iuggling, lying, illusion and deceiuing, whereof we made mention and proose before in the question or doubt concerning *Pythagoras* realty in two places. For, in true reason and iudicious discerning, it is as cleere as the brightest day, that no accident befalling the Gentlewoman mentioned, can be other then naturall, or farther supernaturall, then either the Diuels credit with a Witch, or an Impostors credit with deceiued and seduced men is able to inchaunt perswasion vnto vaine affiance in them. I referre the Reader to the consideration of the History at large, with that which here is added: I will only exhort all men not to be in those doubtfull cases, too violent, nor rash in asking or beleeuing vnworthy or worthlesse counsell, but to aske it of such as are truly and godly learned and prudent, and not of Impostours or Seducers, considering that the consequence of rashnesse, mistaking error and ignorance; are no lesse then the life or death of the sicke, a putting out of the eyes and light of reason, which God and Nature hath giuen man to walke withall in the darke pilgrimage of this life; a deprination of due remedies which God hath allowed (while beguiled with vaine and foolish opinion, with wilfull blindnesse, they worthily esteeme not, nor will expect his grace and fauour therein.

Assuredly, he that doth giue vp himselfe to become a prey to folly and illusion, and led by deceiuers headlong into confused, vniustifiable, vnwarranted and inhibited explorations and trials, doth forsake the guidance and vse of right reason, and instead thereof, is intemperately distra-

cred with impatience of expectation of due respect and esteeme of Gods ordinance and allowance in his ordinary meanes, may iustly feare that God hath decreed and determined, not onely to dispoile him of that common blessing which he hath promised to all that duely seeke, and rightly vse his allowed meanes; but also that he leaueth him vnto the cursed path and way of perpetuall blindnesse and hardnesse of heart therein, except his speciall and extraordinary diuine grace in time reduce his dangerous steps. For certainly he vnto whose blinded eyes God doth offer so great mercy and fauour, as is plainly euident in all his ordained ordinary meanes, vnto euery good that befalleth man in this life, and with thankfulnesse cannot or will not behold it, when it is laid at his vnthaukfull feete, is in a desperate way of a lethargicall disposition, or senselesse memory and obliuion, both of his reason, and of himselfe, and of Gods mercifull goodnesse towards him. And thus the vglinesse of imposture both by the description thereof, and also by example doth appeare, wherein may be first seene, how they that trust thereto, doe forsake God, themselues and their owne common sense and reason, and giue themselues to be swallowed vp of lying and illusion. Secondly, in the whole course of imposture it selfe, is seene the continuall practise of mercilesse impietie, the vsuall wrong of the afflicted, the belying of truth, the deceiuing the miserable, the depriuation of the sicke, of the vse of due remedies and meanes which God hath made and blessed vnto men, that with praise vnto his name, patience and due dependance vpon his prouidence therein, can be contented to seeke and expect the likely and hopefull issue thereof, in vsuall course of nature. Lastly, may be collected, and obserued, the vse and necessitie of distinction betweene Imposture and Witch-craft; namely, that the odious and abominable sinne of Witch-craft be not suffered to continue, vnregarded or neglected, vnder the colour of vaine Imposture, and that the Diuell be not suffered to liue amongst vs, too commonly, and too openly, in the coate

and

and habite of a fooliſh Impoſtor, or Iuggler. For certainely nothing doth more hood-winke the through diſcouery of Sorcerers, then remiſſeneſſe and omiſsion of inquiſition, and caſtigation of Impoſtors, out of whoſe leauen (no doubt) but diligent animaduerſion, might ofttimes boult out many a ſubtill and concealed Witch.

CHAP. X.

How men may by reaſon and nature be ſatisfied, concerning ſuch ſicke perſons as are indeede and truly bewitched.

IT followeth now, according to promiſe, briefely to point vnto direction, how men leauing to inquire at Witches and Sorcerers, and Impoſtors, concerning the ſick, ſuppoſed to be bewitched, may inquire and be better ſatisfied by the light of Reaſon; which God hath giuen vnto them. Reaſon doth detect the ſicke to be afflicted by the immediate ſupernaturall power of the Diuell, two wayes: The firſt way is, by ſuch things as are ſubiect and manifeſt vnto the learned Phyſicion onely: the ſecond is, by ſuch things as are ſubiect and manifeſt vnto a vulgar view.

Thoſe things which are manifeſt vnto the Phyſition alone are of two ſorts. The firſt is, when in the likeneſſe and ſimilitude of a diſeaſe, the ſecret working of a ſupernaturall power doth hide it ſelfe, hauing no cauſe or poſsibilitie of being in that kinde or nature. The ſecond is, when naturall remedies or meanes according vnto Art and due diſcretion applyed, doe extraordinarily or miraculouſly either loſe their manifeſt ineuitable nature, vſe, and operation, or elſe produce effects and conſequences, againſt or aboue their nature, The impoſsibilitie of either of theſe in vſuall or ordinarie courſe of nature, doth certainely prooue an infallibilitie of a ſuperiour nature, which aſſuredly therefore muſt needs be either Diuine or Diabolicall.

This concluſion concerning the infallibilitie of a ſupernaturall mouer, from the like aſſumption, the learned and worthy

worthy preseruer of reuerent antiquitie, Master *Camden*, in his description of Cheshire, hath truely inferred vpon the miraculous prelusions, and presages, euer and prepetually forerunning the death of the heyres of the house or family of the *Brierton*. These and such like things (saith he) are done either by the holy tutelar Angels of men, or else by Diuels who by Gods permission mightily shew their power in this inferiour world.

Whensoeuer therefore the Physition shall truly discouer a manifest transcending power, manner, or motion in any supposed disease, there is an vndoubted conclusion of the Author. Where likewise remedies finde concomitances, or consequences contrary to their nature, or such as neuer were, nor euer can be contingent in course of nature: this assumption truly granted, doth inuincibly infer the a transcendent force and vertue therein neuer to be denied. The Demonstration hereof is euident. A proper cause is certainely knowne where is detected his proper effect. *Ergo*, where is effected ought supernaturall, there is infallibly discouered a supernaturall cause.

Thus how diseases, and the wonderfull accidents which oft happen in diseases, may be by the Physicion detected, according vnto the rule of reason, whether induced by the Diuell or no, is briefely pointed at.

How the guilt of any man therein with the Diuel (which doth onely conuince a Witch) may and ought appeare, hath beene before declared, and shall likewise hereafter be further made cleare.

It will not now be immateriall or vnprofitable, for confirmation, illustration, and better proofe of those two waies, which are distinguished to be onely subiect, and manifest vnto the Physicion, in the detection of the secret workes of Diuels and Witches in diseases, to produce one or two examples of both.

Concerning the first, *Cornelius* in his 2. booke *De Abd. Rer. causis, chap.* 16. deliuereth a history of a yong man of a noble family, who was by a violent conuulsion in an extraordinary

ordinary manner long time tormented. Diuers learned Physicions remained long time doubting and vnsatisfied, both in the cause of this disease, as also of the seate or place where the cause, with any sufficient reason, might be iudged setled.

Behold very pregnant inducements of the finger of the Diuell, mooving in the disease. One was the incredible velocitie of motion in the diseased, impossible vnto the force of man: the other was, for that in all the fits and convulsions, though very strong and vehement, his sense and vnderstanding remained in the diseased, perfect and nothing obscured, or interrupted, which in convulsions according vnto naturall causes was neuer seene, and is impossible.

The force of these reasons to euince the presidence of the Diuell, in the manner and motion of the fore-named disease, the Diuell himselfe did shortly after iustifie, declaring and professing himselfe the Author thereof in plainly expressed words.

In the fore-named booke and chapter, there is another report or relation of a man sudainly surprised, with an extraordinarie fashion, or shape of madnesse or phrensie, wherein he vttered and reuealed things hidden, and of profound Science and reuelation, not onely aboue the pitch and power of naturall capacitie, and the stimulation thereof in diseases contingent, and the forgerie of fained extasie, but really in true and vpright iudgement, and vnpartiall discerning of a Physition beyond all question and exception supernatuall. The sequele after made it good. These examples are sufficient vnto men that are wise, and with whom reason hath authoritie. I doe not affect vnadvised multiplication herein, suspecting many historics, and reports of diuers Authors.

The possibilitie of those which are here produced, beside the vnstained credit of the Author, is apertly confirmed by the holy Scripture, where, in the Lunatike the Diuell manifested himselfe by actions, onely proper and ap-

propriate vnto the power of a Spirit: such was his casting the Lunatike into the fire, and into the water, his violent rending and tearing him, which were things by the Physition iudiciously distinguished, in most part impossible vnto the power and nature of the Lunatike himselfe, or of his disease alone, though not all.

The man possessed among the *Gadarens, Matth. 8. Mark. 5. Luke 8.* likewise doth establish the same, who was knowne and seene euidently by the Physition, how farre simply or solely diseased, and how farre possessed beyond diseased extasies by those vndoubted workes, and that finger of the Diuell, whenhe easily brake in peeces those yron chaines wherewith the Lunatike was bound: so that no force thereof whatsoeuer could hold or binde him; as also when he vttered and spake that more then humane vnderstanding and reuelation of Iesus Christ to be the Sonne of God: a knowledge as yet vncommunicated vnto mankinde, and vnto reason impossible.

Concerning the second way of detection, subiect vnto the Physition alone, namely, when naturall remedies aptly applyed, are attended with supernaturall consequences, contrary to their nature, or aboue the same, out of the former Author, and fore-named place, there is an example also without farther straggling of vnquestioned estimation. A certaine man there mentioned, vehemently burning and thirsting, and by intolerable heate compelled to seeke any mitigation, or extinction of his heate and thirst, in want of drinke or other fitting liquor, happened to finde an Apple, in the moisture and naturall iuice whereof, hoping the vsuall short refreshing of the tongue, he, after the first taking thereof, immediately found (not onely that which was contrary to the nature of an Apple, greater burning and thirst then before) but had instantly his mouth and iawes so fast closed and sealed vp thereby, that he hardly escaped strangling.

The reasonable doubt of the latitation of the Diuell, in this faire, harmelesse, and vsuall remedie of the tongues, thirst

thirſt and drines, was afterward made more euident and manifeſt by the ſudaine and ſwift obſeſsion of his minde, with frightfull viſions, whereof as in the diſpoſition, temper, ſubſtance or qualitie of his braine or body, there was no ground or cauſe, ſo in the Apple it ſelfe, was no other pernicious mixture, but that the Diuell, as with *Iudas* Sop, though wholeſome and ſauing in it ſelfe, ſo in this medicinall fruit, entred and poſſeſſed, where God permitted. The like may be ſaid of other both outward and inward remedies, which by a Magicke power are and may be oft interrupted, turned and bent vnto a vſe contrary to their nature.

For this cauſe *Hippocrates* himſelfe in his booke *de Sacro morbo, & de Natura mulieb.*, doeth acknowledge many accidents, as alſo diſeaſes and remedies themſelues to be diuine, as hauing their cauſe and being aboue the courſe of nature. When therefore fitting vnto any cauſe, matter, or humour in the body, according to true Art and Reaſon diſcouered, apt and fit remedies, are aptly and fitly by the iudicious Phyſition applyed, notwithſtanding, contrary to the nature and cuſtome of ſuch remedies, they haue vnuſuall and iuſtly wondered effects, is there not iuſt matter of doubt concerning an vnuſuall and extraordinary cauſe anſwereable thereto? The deepe and myſticall contengents in this kinde, and their hidden reaſon and cauſe, the vnlearned man, or he that is not exerciſed in difficult diſcoueries, cannot diſcerne, nor can the intricate and perplexed implications therein, of doubts and ambiguites, poſsibly become intelligible in euery ordinary apprehenſion; yet by the former eaſie and familiar example, euery man may geſſe and coniecture at the moſt abſtruſe. The ſubtiltie of the Diuell doeth eaſily deceiue a vulgar thought, and in the clouds and miſts of doubts and difficulties beguileth vſually the dimme ſight and diſquiſition.

The learned Phyſition, notwithſtanding poſſeſsing true iudgement and learning; who doeth and can warily obſerue, and diſtinguiſh firſt the wonders of nature vnknowne vnto euery mediocrity of knowing: ſecondly, the true wonders aboue nature in due collation with nature to be knowne, doth

not eaſily, or raſhly with vulgars, erre or runne mad in the confuſion of vaine and idle ſcruples. The wonders of nature, are ſuch naturall diſeaſes as are ſeene in their wonted and admired ſhapes or mixture, to haue a great likenesſe or deceiuing identitie with ſuch maladies, as are inflicted by the Diuell. The wonders aboue nature, are ſuch diſeaſes, as are truely and vndoubtedly knowne and prooued to haue no conſiſtence, or power of conſiſtence, or cauſe in ſublunary nature.

For illuſtation hereof, I will giue one materiall inſtance fitting our preſent time, that ſhall apertly without exception manifeſt the diſtinction of both theſe kinds, therewith declaring the great oddes and difference betweene true knowledge and vnderſtanding in the learned Phyſition, and the amazed wonderments of vulgars and ignorant men.

There are vulgarly reported among our Engliſh vulgers to bee in the bodies of many Witches, certaine markes or excreſcencies which are vſually deemed the randevowe of the Diuell, where by couenant hee doeth ſucke the blood of Witches. Theſe excreſcencies are vſually deſcribed to beare ſometimes the ſhape of Wartes and Teates, or ſome other ſuch like tumours. They are moſt commonly found in the priuie parts. They are found ſudainely after their appearance, ſometimes to vaniſh. They doe oft bleed, and therefore are vulgarly deemed, the remaining dropping of the Diuels ſucking.

There are diſeaſes likewiſe, like vnto theſe by Phyſitions many hundreth of yeeres publiſhed, & both by ancient Phyſitions and Chirurgions, as alſo by thoſe of later times oft cured. That this be not eſteemed as a wonder, or a fable, I will produce ſome of their ſeuerall ſhapes; deſcribed by ſeuerall Authors, and will cite them according to their vſuall names which are theſe, *Thymion, Nymphe, Cleitoris, Carcoſis, Morum, Albaſce, Ficus, Mariſca.*

Of the firſt thus ſaith *Paulus Ægineta* in his ſixt booke, and 71. chapter. It is an excreſcence or eminence, ſtanding out from the reſt of the fleſh, ſometimes red, ſometimes white,

white, for the most part without paine, the bignesse of an Ægyptian beane and of the colours of the flowers of *Thyme*. They are found, saith he, in the priuie part of women, and are cured by cutting them away. *Ioannes Hucherus* of the Citie of *Benois* in *France*, sometimes one of the Kings counsell and Physition vnto his person, in his second booke concerning barrennesse doth testifie, that the former excrescence doth sometimes grow in some length, sometimes in the hands, sometimes in the feete, sometimes in the thighes, sometimes in the thighes, sometimes in the face, but saith that they are most troublesome in the priuie parts both of man and woman.

Celsus saith in his first booke *chap.* 28. that these excrescencies doe sometimes open and bleed, & send out blood. *Thymon (inquit) facile findituꝛ & cruentatur, nonnunquam aliquantum sanguinis fundit.* *Antonius Musa* vpon the 26. *Aph.* of *Hippocrates* the third booke testifieth by his obseruation in diuers particulars, that the former disease or excrescence doth oft-times weare and vanish away without helpe or remedie.

The second disease or excrescence called *Nymphæ*, *Paulus Ægineta*, in his 6. booke 8. *chap.* doeth describe to be a swelling or growing out of a peece of flesh in the secret part of a woman rising oft-times vnto an vndecent fashion and a great bignesse. *Auicenne* deliuereth the same description. *Tom* 1. *Fen.* 21. *Tract.* 4. and *Albucasis Chirurg. Part.* 2. *Chap.* 72, 73, 74.

The third excrescence called *Clitoris* is little different from the former by the description of the same Authors. *Auicen lib.* 3. *Fen.* 28. *Paulus Ægineta* in the fore-mentioned place.

The fourth excrescence called *Carnosis* the same Author in the same place compareth vnto a long taile and saith, that it hangeth downe, and issueth out of the part before mentioned in women, and is cured by being cut away.

The fift excrescence called *Morum* hath that name from his likenesse vnto a Mulberrie.

The sixt, called *Alhasce*, from his likenesse vnto a Bramble leafe. *Auicenne Tom. 1. lib. 3. Fen. 21. Tract. 4. cap. 20.* As for the seuenth and eight Excrescences, growing likewise as the rest about the secret parts, they haue beene so commonly in auncient times knowne, that *Martiall* the Poet out of his owne acquaintance with them, hath made sport thereof in wittie verse.

Dicemus ficus quas scimus in arbore nasci,
Dicemus ficus Cæciliane tuas.

Of the *Marisce*, thus also writeth *Iuvenal.*

Cæduntur tumidæ medico vidente, Marisæ.

Of these *Marisce* thus saith *Antonius Musa* vpon the *Aph. 30. lib. 3.* Wee call them, saith hee, cresses or combes, from their likenesse vnto the combe of a Cocke, which saith he, if they bee not in time cut away, and cured by actuall cauteries, they are neuer cured at all. Thus much concerning [illegible] Let vs now consider these naturall diseases, which are called wonders in nature, (because not ordinarily or vulgarly seene) with those markes of Witches or diseases, and excrescencies effected and caused by the Diuell in Witches, which (therefore must needes be wonders aboue nature.) Let vs (I say) compare them together, the one with the other. Their exceeding neere neighbour-hood and likenesse, no common vnderstanding, as they are described truely and liuely, can chuse but acknowledge. To confound or mistake the one for the other, is very easie, but yet dangerous and pernicious. I will not dense against due testimonies, and the free confessions of the Witches themselues, that such markes may bee by the Diuell vpon couenant made, in way of an hellish sacrament, betweene the Diuell and the Witch: but where the confession of the Witch her selfe, being free from iust exception doeth not appeare, nor the Diuell to any spectatours, doeth shew himselfe in the act-

of

of ſucking, which hee neuer doeth (as my incredulous thoughts perſwade my ſelfe) where I ſay, theſe appeare not to be manifeſt without fraude, there it is requiſite, and neceſſary, that either wee diſcharge the Diuell, and acquit him of the ſlander, or elſe diſcouer it by ſome other ſigne or note, which may iuſtly be appropriated vnto the Diuell, that his finger or guilt hath beene therein.

This is reaſon, without which ought bee no perſwaſion. Euery tree is to be knowen by his owne fruit, ſaith our Sauiour. Therefore the diuell, is to be knowne by the workes, and fruites of a Diuell, proper and belonging vnto him. Trie and diſcerne the Spirits, (ſaith the Scripture) whether they be of God, or no. And how can they bee diſcerned, if there were not ſome notes, or properties knowne vnto holy diſcerning mindes, whereby they may be diſcerned. It is madneſſe therefore, to ſuppoſe it poſſible to know that which is done by a Spirit, wherein is no euidence, impreſſion, ſigne, ſhew, or propertie of a Spirit. For as a naturall cauſe cannot bee knowne, but by his naturall effect; ſo is it impoſſible, that a ſpirituall cauſe ſhould be knowne, but by ſome ſupernaturall effect. For this cauſe, in all places of Scripture, where are ſet forth the outward workes, or actions of the Diuell, they doe there likewiſe all appeare to be his, in ſome extraordinary & ſupernaturall note or maner.

The caſting the bodies of the poſſeſſed in the Goſpel, into the middeſt of the people, was a thing extraordinary, impoſſible, and vnuſuall vnto the voluntary motion of men alone. The bringing of fire from Heauen to deuoure ſo many of *Iobs* ſheepe, was in the manner beyond the nature vſuall, and ordinary force, or cuſtome of fire. The carriage of the heards of Swine headlong into the Sea, was manifeſtly beyond the nature of their naturall motion, yea, againſt their nature.

Here may be obiected, that the Diuell doeth ordinarily worke, and produce things of ſeeming wonder, and ſtrange conſequence, wherein notwithſtanding, doeth not appeare any ſigne or impreſsion, of any ſupernaturall cauſe or authour.

thour, as is seene in many things produced in men, and issuing from his vsuall tentations of men.

The answere is, that the Diuell doeth worke vpon man, two wayes.

The first is, immediately by the temptings, and soliciting only of man vnto workes, which properly are affected by man himselfe, in the vsuall course and power of mans nature.

The second is, immediately by his owne proper action, as hee is a Spirit, and immediately worketh in himselfe, the worke of a Spirit.

In the first, the Diuell is not properly said to worke in himselfe, but rather to giue and offer occasion vnto the disposition and affections of man, thereby exciting, and tempting man vnto that worke, which therefore onely carrieth the stampe of a worke, proper vnto a man.

In the second, the Diuell worketh immediately himselfe, as he is a Spirit, and in that worke therefore must necessarily likewise bee seene, and appeare the stampe of a Spirit, since in the course and order of all things created whatsoeuer, the true and immediate cause, his immediate true and proper effect, is the sole true infallible stampe, euidence, and proofe thereof.

The workes therefore, which are called or esteemed the Diuels, in regard of his tentations, and incitations of man, vnto foolish, wicked, and oft wondered mischieuous actions, are onely and truely called diuelish, as proceeding from the Diuels instigation onely, but are not truely or properly, or immediately any workes of the Diuell, and, therefore it is not requisite, that in such workes of the Diuell, vnproperly called his, there should appeare any signes, proper vnto the workes of a Spirit or Diuell.

Since then it is infallible, that there can bee no possible discouery of any cause whatsoeuer, naturall, or supernaturall, but by such accidents, effects, or properties as properly belong, or issue from that cause, and since proper effects appearing, doe onely discouer their causes more

cleerely,

cleerely, where they appeare more cleere, and more obſcurely, where they doe appeare more obſcure, and nothing at all, where they appeare not all: Since I ſay this is true, and neuer to be infringed, thoſe ſuppoſed Witches markes, before they can iuſtly and truely bee iudged to bee by the Diuell effected or vſed, muſt by ſome ſtampe or ſigne proper to himſelfe, or to his workes, or to his vſe or propertie therein, be ſo determined and conuinced to be.

The wonder indeed of their ſtrange ſhapes, forme and manner, is ſufficient to amaze ſuch as are not iudiciouſly read, or are vnlearned: but the Phiſition who knoweth ſuch diſeaſes to bee in nature, by that knowledge of their nature, knowing likewiſe that they doe not exceede nature, doeth iuſtly ſtand apart, and diuide himſelfe from the vulgar errour and opinion, that they are any markes to be appropriate vnto the Diuell.

And hence appeareth the neceſſitie of conuincing the forementioned Witches markes to bee ſupernaturall, before vpon their ſhape or appearance onely, it can bee eſteemed iuſt, either to impute vnto the Diuell, or to call any man into queſtion. Before they can bee truely iudged or determined, whether ſupernaturall or no, the neceſſitie of conſulting with the learned Phiſition, is likewiſe demonſtrated. Of which wee may yet againe, giue another demonſtration within the ſame inſtance. It hath beene ſometimes by oath confirmed and depoſed, that theſe forementioned markes of Witches, haue (immediately after they haue beene ſeene) ſudainely vaniſhed to bee no more ſeene. The queſtion may bee, whether their ſudaine diſparence after their manifeſt appearance, bee in nature poſſible vnto ſuch like diſeaſes or no. It is knowne vnto the Phiſition, that many diſeaſes doe inſenſibly grow, and inſenſibly alſo weare and vaniſh away, without any knowledge or notice thereof taken by the diſeaſed. This therefore ſolely can bee no note of a ſupernaturall marke, whatſoeuer paſſionate ignorants fondly diſpute, to maintaine their owne wils and preiudicate reſolutions. I doe grant, if

those materiall excrescencies, doe in a moment vanish away, without any precedent preparation, or alteration tending thereto, or doe in an instant appeare, and in the same moment, without any mutation or proportion of time instantly vanish, then must this bee granted supernaturall: *Quia nihil fit in momento*, that is, no naturall being hath desistence or being, without proportioned time, beyond which nothing can bee really or indeed in sublunarie nature. Whether there bee in the vanishing of the former markes, proportion of time or no, and the due antecedent mutations, and alterations in nature requisite, who can truely iudge, but hee who doeth both know the generall course of nature in all things, and also the particular course, in the nature of diseases, which is the learned Phisition alone. It may bee obiected, that many common men in the former markes, may as easily see and discerne that which is supernaturall oft-times, as the greatest Clarkes.

For example, it hath beene published by Authors of great note, that Oracles haue beene vttered, and articulate sounds heard distinctly issuing from the priuie parts of a *Pythonisse*. Any man that doeth know, or heare such sounds out of that place, can as directly and truely as the Phisition auouch this to be supernaturall.

It was sometime openly obiected, against a Witch in *Northampton shire* at the publike Assise, that a Rat was oft obserued to resort vnto her priuie part, and with her liking and sufferance there to sucke. This was by oath and testimony vrged against her, and she her selfe confessed it to bee true. If the oath and testimony of sufficient witnesses, confirme the Historie to bee true, there is no man vnto whom this is not apparent, as well as vnto the Phisition to bee more then naturall. Hereto wee doe answere, that although it cannot bee denied, that many things may euidently declare themselues vnto euery vulgar, as vnto the learned Phisition to bee supernaturall; yet doeth not this trueth in some cases, euince it true in all cases. Because some things are not denied vnto a vulgar eye or iudgment, it

it doeth not thence follow necessarily, that all things are thereto euident.

It is further obiected, that in those cases, Phisitions are oft found deceiued, as well as other men. It is answered, that among Phisitions, as among all sorts of other men, there are many vulgars, who are, and may bee ordinarily, and easily deceiued, yea amongst the iudicious and learned also, who cannot so ordinarily or easily bee deceiued, yet there must be some wants and imperfections, since no man in this mortall life can bee in all particuler points perfect. Notwithstanding, this doeth not excuse those who are vnlearned, and haue many more grosse wants and imperfections, for not consulting with those that haue lesse, since vnperfect perfection of knowledge, is farre better guide then imperfection, grosse ignorance, and priuation of Art and knowledge.

It may bee yet demanded, what if the Phisition or learned man, cannot detect the Diuell in these named markes, since the diuel is able to haue a finger haply in them; where no note or signe thereof shall at all appeare?

Answere hereto is, where God doeth giue vnto men no meanes, no way or possibilitie vnto their desired satisfaction, there they ought to rest contented, since the contrary is precipitation, and impatience with God his good will and pleasure, and vnbridled curiositie. For as in other cases, namely, Fellony, Murder, all Lawe both Diuine and Humane, doeth forbid to accuse the Murderer, or Felon, where God hath not discouered his guilt by any signe, euidence, or proofe thereof; so in case of Witch-craft, where God hath not reuealed it by any reasonable proofe, vnto the learned & iudicious, there hath no man warrant to accuse, or challeng vpon superstitious grounds, or surmises onely. And though this moderation be iust and fit to be held, where God hath inhibited the contrary; yet it is no Apologie or excuse for negligence, contempt, and want of diligent inquisition at any other time, whensoeuer God doeth permit or offer meanes, hope or possibilitie thereto.

There may here a queſtion be pertinently mooued, namely, Whether theſe markes before mentioned, where proued ſupernaturall, doe therefore neceſſarily conuince the party vpon whom they are found, a Witch, yea or no.

Anſwere hereto is, that ſimply and alone, ſuch markes doe not prooue a Witch at all, but with ſome limitations and conſiderations, they doe abſolutely and infallibly demonſtrate a Witch.

Thoſe limitations are theſe; Firſt, that thoſe markes certainely detected to be ſupernaturall, bee by circumſtances, preſumptions or neceſſary inference, of reaſon prooued to be knowne, by the party in whom they are found, that they are of the Diuell, or by the Diuell there placed.

Secondly, that they are there continued, mainteined, or preſerued with the liking and allowance of that partie. The reaſon of theſe limitations is manifeſt, for that the Diuell is able to impoſe diuers diſeaſes, as alſo ſuch like ſupernaturall markes or excreſcencies, as are before mentioned, vpon men without their liking or conſent, where God doth ſo permit him. This is euident by the Hiſtorie of *Iob*, vpon whom the Diuell brought extraordinary, and more then vſuall botches, biles, and ſores, beyond the common courſe and nature of thoſe diſeaſes, and this he did full ſore againſt the will, and liking of righteous *Iob*. No man can iuſtly be accuſed or ſuſpected in that act wherein hee is no agent, but an vnwilling Patient, nor can bee acceſſary vnto concurrence, or conſent with any author in his act, if that author bee not knowne vnto him, or not conceiued by him to be author. Indeed, if any man be found with ſuch markes, who may be conuinced to know them to bee of the Deuill, and then to like or to be contented with them, aſſuredly by manifeſt demonſtration, that man is a Witch, if not by an expreſſe and open, yet by an occult allowance of the Diuels poſſeſſion and power, of that part or portion in him. Whoſoeuer giueth any poſſeſſion of himſelfe vnto the Diuell, either in part or in whole, doeth thereby renounce his Creator, & by this combination with the Diuell, is a Witch, or Sorcerer.

There

There remaineth as yet a doubt or queſtion, Whether ſimply the affirmation of a ſuppoſed Witch (which is vulgarly but not properly called and deemed her confeſsion) that the Diuell doth ſucke him or her, as alſo whether the affirmation of a ſuppoſed Witch, affirming her ſelfe to be a Witch, doe infallibly conuince that ſuppoſed Witch, to be a Witch indeede; and whether that affirmation be ſufficient (as commonly deemed her owne confeſsion) to condemne her.

The anſwer is negatiue. The reaſon is, for that many affirmations in themſelues, and at firſt view doe ſeeme true ſerious and ſufficient; which better and more conſideratly examined, are oft times euen ſenſeleſſe and ridiculous; and therefore iuſtly are denied credit.

And for this cauſe no accuſations, whether againſt any man himſelfe, or againſt another, wherein is no probabilitie or likelihood, no colour or poſsibilitie of being; either are or ought to be admitted or heard in iuſtice in any Courts of Iuſtice. And for this cauſe the teſtimonies, accuſations, or confeſsions which by fooles, or madmen are auouched, are by all nations through the world in law not valued, and reiected. The ſame regard is had of the affirmations and teſtimonies of children and of melancholy people, and likewiſe of men with yeeres and age doting, or by diſeaſes or cares manifeſtly decrepite in their wittes and ſenſes. That ſuch decrepits there are vſually walking among men not noted nor knowne vnto moſt, or many, except ſometimes vpon eſpeciall occaſion or triall of them made, is no wonder.

I did my ſelfe know ſome lately liuing, who formerly haue beene very vnderſtanding, yet diuers yeeres before their end, were with age in their inward ſenſes ſo worne and waſted; that although as reaſonable creatures vnto the common view, they talked, conuerſed, conferred, ſpake many times, and in many things with very good reaſon, and ſenſibly; yet oft-times by ſodaine enterchanges, they

neither know reason nor themselues, nor their owne names nor children.

I now know a man neere an hundreth yeere old, who hauing in my late remembrance beene an excellent penman, doth neither now know a word, nor can write nor name so much as one letter among the foure and twentie; yet hath he his sight good, as by his discerning and vpon his view thereof, giuing right name and title vnto other as small formes and characters is apparent. His memory sometimes euen of the same things is altogether gone by fits and by fits sometimes returneth in many things, but not in all, nor in any alway or certainly. Other some I haue knowne in their memory and phantsie by age so worne, that they could not hold or retaine in the one so much as that which very lately was in their eye; in the other so much as that which was in the same instant almost conceiued; affirming things in this confusion which neuer were nor euer could be; and denying their sight of those things which from their sight thereof they had truely before named of their owne accord; one while constantly beleeuing and auouching whatsoeuer was said or informed them, though neuer so dissonant from sense or reason; another while as confidently denying whatsoeuer truth was said or vrged, though neuer so manifest vnto their sight or sense. This is not strange in age, since in diseases it is vsuall for men sometimes for a time to lose their memory alone, sometimes their reason alone, sometimes imagination: sometimes part of one; and part of another; sometimes all; sometimes perfectly none; and yet imperfect in euery one. It sometimes also is seene (as *Galen* saith) that a man inioying absolutely and accurately all his inward senses of right reason, memory and imagination in all other things beside, yea in some one particular alone and in no other whatsoeuer is euer constantly and without change void of sense or reason, and as a very mad man or foole.

Thus much is also written by others of many wise and learned

learned men; who notwithstanding in some one particular alone haue discouered themselues to be very fooles or mad men: constantly affirming themselues to be doggs, horses, glasses, and for that one follie neuer reclaimed, in all other things being iudicious, learned, discreete and solid. Neither is euery vulgar man, nor euery man vulgarly learned not accurately iudging able to discerne these defects, at first, or alwaies; much lesse where they are hardly and difficultly espied, or by fits onely doe shew themselues. How possible is it for these sorts of people either to be perswaded by others, or from their owne guide and vnstable conceite to affirme any thing whatsoeuer concerning themselues or others? and for that cause how necessary is it in matter of weight and iudgments, especially of life, to take heede of their rash admittance vnto accusations or testimonies concerning themselues or any others. Vnto a confession so properly and truely called, doe necessarily concurre three things. First, in a confession is properly implied & vnderstood the partie confessing to be capable of reason, because without reason he can neither know nor iudge of himselfe nor of his guilt. Secondly, in a confession is requisite and necessary that a partie confessing himself doth truly know what the Law doth take & define that offence to be which he doth assume vnto himselfe. For by ignorance of the law sometimes silly men suppose themselues and others to haue incurred the danger of the Law, where he that truly vnderstandeth the Law is able to informe him the contrary: and for this cause the law it selfe doth giue leaue to consult with the Lawyer, and with such as professe and are skilfull in the Law.

Diuines likewise generally acknowledge and grant, that there is a mistaking, an ignorantly and a falsely accusing conscience or guilt, as well as a conscience iustly iudging and accusing.

And for this cause many a man may take himselfe to be a Theefe, a Witch or other offender, who doth not truly or rightly know what Theft in his owne case or some other

points is, or what Witch-craft or some other offences either truly in themselues are, or by the Law are vnderstood; b ing in some cases not knowen or agreed, among Lawyers themselues. It is therefore senseleſſe that a man can accuſe himselfe iustly of an offence which he doth not know; and therefore also is it as vniust to admit such an accusation against himselfe.

Thirdly, in a confeſſion is implyed and presupposed a precedent manifeſt offence or guilt either by faire euidence likely to be prooued, or at least by due circumstances and presumptions iustly suspected or queſtioned.

I doe hence conclude demonstratiuely, that if a supposed Witch be not first found capable of reason, and free from dotage with age or yeeres or sickneſſe; and doe not also know what Witch-craft or a Witch is, and thirdly if the Witch-craft or sinne it selfe bee not vpon sufficient grounds either prooued, or at leſt queſtioned; the meere accusation of such a supposed Witch against her selfe without the former considerations, is not simply or alone sufficient to conuince or condemne her; neither is such an accusation, truly or properly to be tearmed a confeſsion. And thus we haue made euident by this instance of the supposed Witches markes, how the learned Phyſition poſſeſsing true Art and Learning, is not so commonly as the vulgar sort transported into the maze of vaine wonder and ignorant admiration, but duely and truly weighing reason doth apart diſtinguiſh and put true difference betweene the wonders in nature, and the wonders aboue nature.

The wonders in nature are such diseaſes, as in their strange shape and likeneſſe, doe counterfeit such maladies, as are induced by the Diuell or by Witch-craft. Wonders aboue nature, are such diseaſes, wherein the finger of the Diuell is indeede and really diſcouered.

Page. Concerning the first kinde (as here) so formerly in a
58 former Manuell, I haue briefely deliuered, both some of
59 their generall * deſcriptions, denyed by no man that in an-
60 cient time was, or at this time is a iudicious and learned

Phy-

Physician, as also diuers of their * particular Histories in the persons of some sicke men knowne vnto my selfe. * Page 61 62 63 64

Of the second it is here needlesse to propound any more particulars then those aboue mentioned, which I esteeme for the generall illustration sufficient. In true and right decision and distinction of the one from the other, multiplicitie of consideration and circumspection ought diligently attend the intricate maze and labyrinth of error, and illusion in their deceiueable likenesses, whereby the Diuell, for his owne aduantage, and the perdition of seduced and beguiled men, doth sometimes cunningly hide his owne workes, and the diuellish practises of Witches and Sorcerers, from their due detection and punishment; sometimes to insnare the guiltlesse and innocent, doth iugglingly seeme to doe those things which Nature doth iustly challenge, not as his, but as her owne, in iust ballance weighed. It is most certaine, that the Diuell cannot possibly mixe himselfe, or his power, with any inferiour nature, substance or body, but the alteration, by the coniunction of so farre discrepant natures, in the vnchangeable decree of the vniuersall nature of all things, necessarily and vnauoidably produced, must needs witnesse and manifestly detect it in the great and mighty oddes. This is very euident and apparent in all the supernaturall workes of the Diuell, before mentioned in the generall discourse of this small Treatise or worke, whether such as were declared manifest to sense, or such as were euident to reason; whether such as were effected by the Diuell himselfe, with the consent or contract of a Sorcerer or Witch, or such as were without their knowledge, societie, or contract performed by himselfe. All those supernaturall workes of both these kinds were therefore knowne to be supernaturall, because they were aboue and beyond any cause in sublunary nature. The like the learned Physician may certainly conclude, concerning diseases inflicted or mooued by the Diuell. For it is impossible that the finger or power of the Diuell should be in any maladie, but such a cause must

needs produce some effect like it selfe, where true and iudicious discerning is able to finde the infallible, certaine, and vndeceiued stampe of difference. Thus farre hath bin briefely declared, how the Physician properly and by himselfe doth alone enter into the due consideration and examination of diseases (where is iust occasion of question) whether naturally or supernaturally inferred. How vnfit it is here to admit euery idiot for a Physician or Counsellor (as is too common both in these and all other affaires of health) let wise men iudge.

Certainely from hence it commeth to passe, that most men for euer liue in perpetuall confusion of their thoughts in these cases, and as a iust iudgement of God against their careleſse search and neglect of learned and warranted true counsel, all certainety and truth herein doth still fly farre from them. For as in these ambiguities is requisite and necessary, a learned, iudicious, and prudent Physician, so is it as necessary that he finde those that neede herein aduice, truely and constantly obedient vnto good reason, temperate and discreete, not mutable vpon euery vaine and idle proiect to start away, and to bee transported from a reasonable, iust & discreete proceeding, vnto vncertaine, vaine, and Empiricall tryals, since wisdome, knowledge and truth are neuer truely found, but onely of those, that with diligence, patience, and perseuerance search and seeke them out. It remaineth now to come vnto the second way of detection of the bewitched sicke, which was before said to consist in such things as were subiect and manifest vnto a vulgar viewe, as the first vnto the learned Physician aboue. As of the first, some few examples haue been propounded, so of the latter let vs also viewe other some.

In the time of their paroxismes or fits some diseased persons haue beene seene to vomit crooked iron, coales, brimstone, nailes, needles, pinnes, lumps of lead, waxe, hayre, strawe, and the like, in such quantity, figure, fashion and proportion, as could neuer possibly passe downe, or arise vp thorow the naturall narrownesse of the throat, or be

contained

contained in the vnproportionable ſmall capacity, naturall ſuſceptibility and poſition of the ſtomake. Theſe things at any time happening, are palpible and not obſcure to any eye without difficulty, offering themſelues to plaine and open viewe.

Theſe like accidents *Benincnius, Wierus, Codronchius* and others alſo, euen in in our time and countrey, haue publiſhed to haue been ſeene by themſelues. Some other ſicke perſons haue, in the time of the exacerbations of their fits, ſpoken languages knowingly and vnderſtandingly, which in former time they did neuer knowe, nor could afterward know againe: as *Fernelius* a learned Phyſition, and beyond exception worthy credit, doth witneſſe concerning a Sicke man knowne to himſelfe.

Some Sicke men alſo haue reuealed and declared words, geſtures, actions done in farre diſtant places, euen in the very time and moment of their acting, doing, and vttering, as I haue knowne my ſelfe in ſome, and as is teſtified likewiſe to haue beene heard, knowne, and ſeene by diuers witneſſes worthy credit in our * country, in diuers bewitched Sicke people.

* See a Treatiſe of the Witches of Warboyes.

As theſe examples are manifeſt to any beholder, which ſhall at any time happen to view them: ſo are the examples of the firſt and ſecond kinde euident to the reaſon and iudgement of the learned and iudicious Phyſicion, and all doe therefore certainely deteſt and prooue a ſupernaturall Author, cauſe, or vertue, becauſe they are manifeſt ſupernaturall effects.

Thus haue we pointed out briefely, the detection of the bewitched Sicke, both by learned Reaſon proper vnto the iudicious Phyſicion, and alſo by common ſenſe and reaſon in all men.

If men more at large pleaſe to exerciſe themſelues in due conſideration and proofe hereof, they ſhall finde more certaine and found ſatisfaction and fruit, with the bleſsing and allowance of God, then can iſſue out of the mouthes of Sorcerers and Witches, which God hath curſed, and diſ-

allowed, and in whose hearts and mouthes, the Diuell is oft a lying Spirit.

It hath been briefely, and yet sufficiently herein proued, that Almightie God hath giuen vnto Reason light, whereby reasonable, temperate and sober minds, through circumspect care and diligence, may see and behold whatsoeuer is truely possible, or iust for man to know, with the fauour and allowance of Gods grace, in the detection and discouery of the bewitched Sicke. Whosoeuer therefore shall contemne, or neglect this light, and shall aske counsell of Diuels and Witches, the open and proclaimed enemies of God, doe certainely relinquish their faith, and trust in God their Creator, and their patience and dependance vpon his prouidence.

And although it may sometimes fall out, that prosperous issue doth seeme to follow the counsell of the Diuell, yet doth it behooue men to be wary, and not presume, least it prooue onely a sweete baite, that by a sensible good, the diuell may draw their bewitched desirous vaine minds vnto an insensible damnable hurt. For certainly, he who will rather be beholding vnto the Diuell, for his life or health, then chuse to die in the gracious and mercifull hand of God his Creator, can neuer expect to participate any portion of saluation in him, without extraordinary repentance.

Thus much concerning the reasonable discouery of the bewitched Sicke, wherein leauing to enquire at Witches, Sorcercers, or impostors, vpright men, that loue or feare God, or imbrace Religion or common reason, may and ought confine and satisfie their iust desires.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The production of the works of Witches and Sorcerers, vnto the publique seate and censure of Iustice.

WE haue hitherto considered, how the workes of Diuels and Witches, may be both manifest to Sense, and euident to Reason. They haue in their diuers kinds and different performances and manners distinctly beene instanced. Besides those kinds which haue beene mentioned, there may bee innumerable more, among which are those who vndertake and are enquited at, to reueale treasures hid, goods lost or conueighed away, the workes and guilt of other Witches, good fortunes, and euill fortunes in diuers affaires, disseignes and attempts: as also those who vndertake by inchantment, to leade captiue the wils and minds of men, vnto extraordinarie and vnreasonable desires or lusts, hatred or loue vnto, or against this or that person, or this or that particular thing, aboue or beyond the naturall power of resistence, and the force and vsuall guidance of naturall reason, in the ordinary course of mans will and nature: but they are all included in the same generall kinde, and common proofe of their diuellish impietie, deriued from the word of God before alleadged vnanswerably, and the true consequence of Reason from thence.

The difference that is in their diuers kinds, doth onely arise from their seuerall subiects, manners, ceremonies, and rites, according to their seuerall differing contracts with the Diuell: some vsing in their workes, reuelations or oraculous answeres, of the demand of resorting people in one manner, fashion, ceremonie, gesture, and rite; some in another, and some in none at all, certaine, or vnchangeable.

Concerning these ceremonies, with their seuerall con-

crafts, and the manners thereof, I will not write, partly, because in this place not much materiall; partly, because they are difficult to detect, except by the Witches owne free confession, which happeneth very rare and seldome; partly, because they tend more to the satisfaction of curiositie then of vse, and therefore are not without some danger published. It hath now beene manifest by the word and mouth of God, vnto the reason of man, how a Witch or Sorcerer may euidently appeare vnto right Reason; namely by his voluntary vndertaking to bee enquired at, for knowledge and reuelation of such things as are hidden by God from all knowledge of men, and are solely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits, as hath beene by learned Authors and by reason declared.

The reuelation being found supernaturall, doth discouer the supernaturall Agent or Author the Diuell, whose proper act whatsoeuer man doth vndertake in part, or in whole, must necessarily buy or borrow from him, and thereby be conuinced vndoubtedly of contract with him.

We haue produced diuers sorts of noted Practisers likewise of this inhibited contract, both in the holy Scripture expressely nominated, and also by their ordinarie common custome herein obserued in seuerall kindes.

Concerning them all, we will conclude as a corallary vnto all that went before, with the testimonie and confirmation of *Lucius Apuleius*, that famous, expert, & learned Magician, in his booke *de Asino Aureo*, from his long proofe and acquaintance with the Diuell: *Dæmones* (saith hee) *præsident Augurijs, Arruspicijs, oraculis, & Magorum miracvlis*, that is, the Diuels are chiefe presidents, haue chiefe power or authoritie, are chiefe Maisters, Guides, or Rulers ouer Diuination, or reuelation by the signes taken in flying of fowles, of diuination by inspection of the entralls of beasts, of Oracles, and of all the miracles or miraculous workes of Magicians. They that will not beleeue the holy Scripture, nor the testimony of so many men and ages, that

that the Diuell is the sole Author of vaine miraculous reuelations, diuinations and workes, let them credit the Magician his owne mouth.

As we haue hitherto viewed, how Witch-craft and Witches may bee, first, by sense manifestly detected: secondly, by reason euidently conuicted: so let vs now consider, how they may bee both produced vnto the barre of Iustice, and bee arraigned and condemned of manifest high Treason against Almighty God, and of combination with his open and professed enemy the Diuell.

Concerning the first, since it chiefely consisteth in that which is manifest vnto the outward sense, if the witnesses of the manifest magicall and supernaturall act, be substantiall, sufficient, able to iudge, free from exception of malice, partialitie, distraction, folly; and if by conference & counsell with learned men, religiously and industriously exercised, in iudging in those affaires, there bee iustly deemed no deception of sense, mistaking of reason or imagination, I see no true cause, why it should deserue an * *Ignoramus*, or not bee reputed a true Bill, worthy to bee inquired, as a case fit and mature for the same due triall, which Iustice, Law, and equitie haue ordained in common vnto all other rightfull hearings and proceedings by witnesse and testimonie, although it is likely to prooue a rare plea or cause, because in reason not too frequently to bee found, and farre lesse * in it selfe common or vsuall, then is vulgarly reputed. It might notwithstanding, haply bee more oft detected, if more diligently according to reason inquired.

The second kinde of Witch by euidence of reason discouered, is farre more frequent then the first, as appeareth by the varietie and multitude of names, which it hath branded vpon it, and the diuersitie of kindes and fashions which it hath put on. It is likewise more easily detected and prooued.

A supernaturall reuelation being first made truely manifest (lest preposterously wee haply call a surmised, or falsely suspected offender into question, before any offence be

* Crimina Meleficorum sunt communis fori, Pertinent ad forum Ecclesiasticum quatenus sunt Hæreticæ pertinent ad forum seculare quatenus cædes perpetrant in hominibus aut aliis animalibus, Binsfeldius prælud. 13.

* Quidam plus æquo tribuunt operationi Dæmonum, Binsfeldius.

be apparent or knowne; which is an vniuſt iniury, and worthy of rebuke and ſhame with God and iuſt men) a ſupernaturall reuelation (I ſay) being manifeſt, any mans guilty contract therein is prooued, by his vndertaking to bee enquired at therein.

That vndertaking likewiſe is eaſily knowne & diſcouered by thoſe that haue inquired. The foundation of this way of inueſtigation of this Witch or Sorcerer, is the Word of God it ſelfe before recited, and iuſt and true reaſon built thereupon, cannot fall or be ſhaken.

Thus hauing brought theſe priſoners to the Barre, I there arreſt any farther progreſſe, and leaue them to Iuſtice, to the decree and ſentence of the reuerend, graue, and learned Iudge, and ſo proceede the third promiſed way of inueſtigation, and inquiſition of Witches and Sorcerers, according to likely preſumption, probable and artificiall coniecture.

But before wee arriue vpon that point, it is neceſſarie, that firſt a materiall obiection bee ſatisfied. That is, in the forementioned Iudgement of ſupernaturall workes of Sorcery manifeſt to ſenſe, how can any true teſtimony or witneſſe be required or expected, ſince doubt is made whether really or truely, or deluſorily and in ſeeming onely, many or moſt things of that kinde, are ſeene or heard? Hereto is anſwered: As a true ſubſtance is ſeene not of it ſelfe ſimply, but in and by the outward true ſigne, ſhape, proportion, colours, and dimenſion inherent therein, and inſeparable there-from; ſo the true likeneſſe, reſemblance and pourtraiture of that ſubſtance, when ſeparated from that ſubſtance, is as truely and as really ſeene. Therefore, experience doeth ſhew vs, that the ſame eye which ſaw the ſhape, proportion, and figure, together with the true ſubſtance, doeth as perfectly both ſee and know it, when it is ſeparated from the ſubſtance by the Art of the Painter.

As in the true miracles of God, wrought by the hand of his ſeruant *Moſes*, the true and vndoubted ſubſtance of a truely created Serpent, was ſeene when it was changed from

from a rodde, by the outward proper and inherent ſhape: ſo as truely was an outward pourtraiture and likeneſſe of Serpents ſeene, in the falſe miracle of the ſeeming tranſmutation of the Sorcerers rodds. For how could religion or reaſon condemne thoſe miracles of the Diuell for illuſions, if the liuely reſemblance of miracles appearing manifeſtly vnto the eye, had not thereby made them knowne? For an example, or illuſtration, how is a iuggling deceit knowne but by the eye? The ſight is ſaid to bee deceiued therein. Therefore it doeth ſee that which doeth deceiue. Reaſon likewiſe comparing that which was ſeene, with that which is not ſeene; that is, the counterfait with the true ſubſtance, doeth prooue the counterfait the preſent obiect of the ſight. The ſame eyes therefore that ſaw, in the true miracles of *Moſes*, the ſubſtance of a Serpent by the true inſeparable inherent ſhape, ſaw likewiſe the true image and picture of a Serpent, in the falſe and ſeeming miracles of the Enchaunters of Egypt. The teſtimony of the preſentation of both vnto the eye, is as true as trueth it ſelfe; becauſe the Word of trueth hath ſaid it. That the Diuell is as powerfull as the moſt excellent Painter, to repreſent any the moſt true and liuely likeneſſe of any creature, is in reaſon cleare, and hath beene alſo before prooued.

Therefore a true teſtimonie may bee truely giuen, and iuſtly accepted or taken of a liuely ſhape, figure, likeneſſe, or proportion, really preſented (by the Art of the Diuell) vnto the eye. All the doubt then remaining, is, to put a true difference betweene that which our imagination doeth repreſent vnto vs, from within the braine, and that which wee ſee without by the outward ſenſe. This difference will beſt appeare by an example. *Fernelius* in his firſt booke, *cap.* 11. *de Abd. rer. cauſ.* doeth make mention of a man, who by the force of charmes, would coniure into a looking glaſſe certaine ſhapes or viſions, which there would either by writing, or by liuely preſentations ſo perfectly expreſſe and ſatisfie, whatſoeuer hee did demaund or commaund

vnto them, that easily and readily it might bee distinguished, and knowne by standers by. This *Fernelius* doeth report that hee saw himselfe. What shall wee say herein? Was this Diuelish practise a thing doubtfull? Was it not manifest to many eyes, diuersitie of beholders, and the iudicious view of a learned and discerning sight. The like *Franciscus Picus Mirandula* reporteth, *videlicet*, that a famous Magician of *Italy* in his time, did keepe the skull of a dead man, out of which the Diuell did deliuer answeres vnto men enquiring, when the Wizard had first vttered certaine words, and had turned the skull toward the Sunne. These things being palpably seene, could not bee megre imagination. Those things which are meerely in imagination (with those men whom diseases deprive not of their sense or reason) are by right reason and true sense, after a short time of their preualence, easily detected to be imaginary; but those things which are truely, really, and certainely seene, remaine the same for euer after in their due reception of sense; with vndoubted and vnchanged allowance of reason.

Hence it is, that a man in a sleepe or dreame, though for a short space, hee doeth oft times verily, really, and very feelingly (as it were) thinke himselfe in many actions and employments; yet when hee awakes from sleepe, his sense and reason doe tell him hee was but in a dreame. Many sicke persons likewise vsually, though waking, dreame of things falsely imagined, but the disease being gone, and their sense and reason there-from recouered, they then know and laugh at the fallacies of their imaginations. By these short instances it is apparent, that it is not a thing impossible, but vsuall and familiar vnto all kinde of men that want not their common wits, to distinguish betweene those things which are onely in imagination, and those which are reall and indeede.

From hence we may then truely conclude, that against the acts of Sorcerie and Witch-craft manifest to sense, the due testimonies of vnderstanding, discreete, and iust men, ought

ought to bee no lesse equiualent then against another open acts, or crime whatsoeuer, whereof the Witch of *Endor* may serue to shut vp and conclude all doubt for euer herein, for an vnanswerable instance and proofe. Shee acknowledgeth her guilt and crime might bee made manifest vnto *Saul* in these wordes, 1. *Sam.* 28. 9. Wherefore seekest thou to take mee in a snare, to cause mee to die? *Saul* likewise himselfe doeth grant vnto her, the sufficiency of his testimony to cause her to die, *verse* 9. in these wordes, As the Lord liueth, no harme shall come vnto thee, for this thing: meaning, by his testimony of her fact, no harme should come vnto her. But here may bee obiected, that it was not his testimony of her fact of raising the vision of *Saul*, which the Witch did feare, but his testimony of her confession of her selfe to be a Witch, by promising to vndertake it. The contrary is manifest by the Text, *verse* 21. See, thy handmaide hath obeyed thy voyce, and I haue put my soule in thy hand, and haue obeyed the word which thou saidst vnto me. And thus is the doubt concerning the sufficiencie of testimonies, and witnesse in case of Witch-craft satisfied. It now remaineth as was promised and intended, that we next view that light vnto the discouery of Witch-craft, which artificiall coniecture, probable reason and likely presumption doe afford, since what sense and reason haue made manifest is already declared.

CHAP. XII.

That Witches and Witch-craft may be discouered by probable reason and presumption.

AS from things euident to sense, and manifest to reason, there ariseth a certainety of vndoubted knowledge: so in things that carry onely probabilitie, diligence doth beget and produce verity and * truth of opinion. Hence it commeth to passe, that he who truely knoweth, and knowingly can distinguish and discerne the validitie,

* Opinio vera est habitus circa conclusiones ex Dialecticis pronunciatis, Arist. in lib. Analyt.

nature, difference, and right vse of probabilities, doth most seldome in his opinions mistake or erre.

Hence also it commeth to passe, that according to seuerall measures, and degrees of diligence, study, practice, and exercise of iudging in probabilities, men doe diuersly differ, some excelling other in the merited stiles and attributes of subtiltie, Policy, Sagacity, Exquisitenes. It is true, that in probabilitie, is no perpetuall * certainty: notwithstanding he that warily and wisely weigheth it, cannot in the vncertainty thereof but finde more certainty, then in blinde and vnlikely casualtie; then in rash attempts and prosecutions, voide of counsell, or likely reason.

* Certum est, quod nusquam aliter fiat, probabile, quod plerunque ita fiat, Cicero.

For although sometimes those things which seeme most likely and probable, doe happen to prooue false, yet doth nature and reason teach and inioyne vs rather to giue credit thereto; and experience doth manifest that the cause of deception therein, for the most part, doth consist in the weakenesse of mans iudging thereof aright. For in iudging of probabilities, are great oddes, some things onely seeme probable to such as are * wise, learned, expert, subtill: some vnto the most exquisite Iudges alone: some to euery vulgar; some to the choise and best sort of Vulgars, and not vnto all; and in these differences, doth necessarily breede much error and mistaking. Notwithstanding, the vertue and force of probabilitie ie selfe, simply doth not deceiue, or vsually faile, but as it is diuersly and differently conceiued by men, that oft prooueth false, which seemed likely. *Vatem hunc perhibemus optimum*, saith *Cicero, qui bene coniiciet*, that is, we auouch and affirme that man to be the best Prophet, or prognosticator of issues to come or happen, who hath the power and skill of right and true conjecture, which euer consisteth in the exquisite perpension of probable inducements.

* Probabilia sunt, quæ probantur aut omnibus, aut plurimis, aut certe sapientibus, & iis si non plurimis, at maxime probatis, quorum est spectata Sapientia, Aristot.

What is among men more admired, or more worthy to be admired, then this art, this skill, this power? Who doth not know what vse, also what benefit doth arise thereby, both vnto the true warrant and allowance of action, and also

so vnto the maintenance, and iustification of right opinion, in counsels and deliberation? As in all other faculties and sciences, the excellencie and necessitie thereof doth brightly shine: so most apertly vnto common obseruation, it doth proove and manifest it selfe in the two seuerall professions of the *Logician and the Orator.*

The *Logician* in his discrepations and questions, concerning doubts and ambiguities, by the diligence of subtill dispute, from the light of probabilitie, rectifieth the vnstable fluctuation of vnconstant opinion, and produceth through mature disquisition, and raciocination, what is most safe, most consonant with truth, to hold, affirme, or be perswaded.

The *Orator* in his coniecturall state or questions, in his pleas of doubtfull and controuersed facts, or rights, wherein oft-times probabilitie and likelihood, seeme to stand equall and vnpartiall vnto both parts: notwithstanding by mature, acute, and seasonable pressing, and vrging that which is most like, most reasonable, and consonant with right, with law and equitie, in the end doth bring into light, and discouer, what is most equall, vpright, and worthy to be credited, or respected. What conuictions of truth and right, what conuictions of guilt and errour doe dayly issue from hence, common experience, doth proove and demonstrate.

Thus much briefely prefixed in generall, concerning the necessitie, light and truth of probabilities; it now remaineth to consider the vse and power thereof likewise, in our particular proposed subiect of Witch-craft, which common sense doth not onely iustifie (as in all other subiects) but the word of vndoubted truth.

Almightie God, in case of Idolatrie, doth not onely publish and proclaime his detestation of that great sinne it selfe, but therewith doth include whatsoeuer hath any probabilitie of respect, or reference thereto; whether in affection and inclination, or in ceremonie or superstitious shew. This is euident, *Deut.* 18. *verse* 9. where he first forbiddeth

biddeth his people so much as to imitate, or doe after the manners of the Gentiles; and afterward particulariseth their making their sonnes and daughters to passe thorow the fire. Likewise *Leuit.* 19. 27,28. where he forbiddeth as much as the cutting of his peoples heads, or the corners of their heads round, or marring the tufts of their beards, or marking or cutting of their flesh, as was the manner of Infidels and Gentiles, in their mourning and lamenting of the dead. Likewise *Deut.* 16. 21. where he forbiddeth so much as the planting of any groues of trees neere his Altar, because it was the custome, inuention, manner, and resemblance of Idolaters.

As in case of Idolatrie, so in case of Witch-craft, which is likewise a kinde of Idolatry, because the worship of Diuels, Almightie God in those places of holy Writ, where he publisheth and proclaimeth his high displeasure against Witches and Sorcerers, with that abominable sinne it selfe, doth also condemne as abominable; First, in generall all kinde of shew, of affection, liking, inclination, or respect thereof; Secondly, any customes, fashions, rites, ceremonies, superstitions, or gestures from thence deriued, or belonging thereto.

The first is manifest, *Leuit.* 19. *verse* 31. There the Prophet, from their God *Iehouah*, doth charge his people, that they doe not so much as turne toward, or decline toward Sorcerers or South-sayers, vouchsafe to aske any question, or to respect them: and *Leuit.* 20. *verse* 6. he giueth iudgement and sentence of death, against that soule that doth but turne or looke toward them.

The second is likewise manifest, *Isaiah* 8. *verse* 19. where Almightie God noteth the superstitious peepings, whisperings, and mutterings of Sorcerers, and according to those gestures, doth with reproch terme them whisperers, mutterers and peepers: and *Deut.* 18. *verse* 10,11. he rehearseth their mumblings, and charmings, and their superstitious marking the flying of fowles; and *Leuit.* 19. *verse* 26. he noteth their vaine and ceremonious obseruing of times.

If

If then Almightie God be ſo ſtrict, that he will not endure or tolerate ſo much as a friendly looking toward Sorcerers: the leaſt reſpect giuen vnto them, or ſo much as a demand of a queſtion at their hands, any inclination toward them, any their ceremonies, rites or ſuperſtitions, yea, ſo ſmall a matter as their very outward geſtures; how can religious zeale, or the duty of man toward God his Creator, eſteeme any of theſe, or the like, or the leaſt of them, leſſe then ſufficient matter of probable doubt, preſumption, religious iealouſie, and ſuſpicion againſt ſuch men, as doe, or dare preſume to imitate, to practiſe or vſe them?

As the holy Scripture hath pointed out ſome few geſtures, manners, and rites of Sorcerers, for an example and light vnto all other of the ſame kinde: ſo hath the daily obſeruations of ſucceeding times added infinite more, which haue, doe, and ſtill may encreaſe, multiply, and be added, and newly inuented, and put on new different ſhapes and faſhions, according to the fancie of the contractors therein, which are the Diuell, and man poſſeſſed by him, in whoſe powers and will, according to the nature, qualitie and conditions of their contract, dependeth and conſiſteth the variation, or innouation of ceremonious rites.

For this cauſe, among Authors and records both of elder and later times, wee reade of ſuch diuerſities and numbers of ſuperſtitious litations, dedications, performances, and a diabolicall ſolemnities. As therefore we haue manifeſted ſuch ſuperſtitious rites, ceremonies and geſtures of Sorcerers, as the holy Scripture hath noted and deciphered; ſo let vs propound ſome other by after-times, and other Authors obſerued.

Some haue vſed in their intention or execution of their Diabolicall workes, or in the way of preluſion one kinde of * ceremonious homage, and ſome another. Some doe neuer attempt nor enterprife a Diabolicall execution, but with mumblings, whiſperings, and ſecret ſounds, and words heard

* See Maſter Perkins diſcouery of Witch-craft, chap. 2. pag. 48.

heard grumbling in their mouthes: as *Theophrastus* in his 9. booke of herbes and plants doth witnesse, concerning certaine Magicians in gathering *Helleborus*, and *Mandragora*: and as is likewise vndoubtedly discouered, by the great attributes that are by many famous Writers ascribed vnto the Caball of the Iewes, and vnto letters, characters, words, sillables and sentences superstitiously pronounced.

Galen writeth, that a certaine Sorcerer by vttering and muttering but one word, immediately killed, or caused to dye a Serpent or Scorpion. *Benivenius* in his booke *de Abd. morb. caus.* affirmeth, *That some kinde of people haue beene obserued to doe hurt and to surprise others, by vsing only certaine sacred and holy words.* It is apparent likewise, that others haue accomplished their diuelish ends, by apparitions, shapes, or figures, raised or coniured into glasses: as *Cornelius*, an eye-witnesse, in his booke *de Abdit. rer. caus.* doth publish. Some receiue power and vertue from the Diuell vnto their Diabolicall preparations, by certaine inchanted hearbes, or medicines which they mixe and gather, sometimes with brasse hookes, sometimes by Moone-shine in the night, sometimes with their feete bare and naked, and their bodies clothed with white shirts, as *Plinie* reporteth. Some are reported, to obtaine of the Diuell their desired ends or workes, by deliuering vnto the Diuell bonds or couenants, written with their owne hands. This *Serres* the French Chronicler doth report, confessed by certaine Witches, in the raigne of *Henry* the fourth. And M. *Fox*, in the life of *Martin Luther*, doth make mention of a yong man, who deliuered a bond vnto the Diuell, vpon certaine conditions, which bond was written with the yong mans owne blood, and vpon his repentance, and the earnest zealous prayer of the people vnto God in his behalfe, was redeliuered, and cast into the Church in the view and sight of the whole assembly there and then being. Some derive an effectuall vertue vnto their decreed Diuelish workes, by hanging characters or papers about the necke, as *Plinie* reporteth. Some practise to bring their Diuelish

Diuelish ends vnto issue, by coniured images and pictures of waxe, golde, earth, or other matter, as *Thomas Aquinas* in his booke *de occultis Natura* witnesseth.

Holinshed, page 534. doth chronicle the execution of certaine Traitours, for conspiring the king of Englands death by Sorcerous and Magicall pictures of waxe. The same author, page 1271. doth report, that in the twentith yeere of Queene *ELIZABETH*, a figure-flinger (as hee termeth him) being suspected as a Coniurer or Witch, sudainely dying, there was found about him (besides bookes of coniuration, and other Sorcerous papers or Characters) the picture of a man wrought out of Tynne. Some late writers haue obserued, that diuers Witches by such pictures, haue caused the persons thereby represented secretly to languish and consume, as was lately prooued against some late famous Witches of *Yorke-shire* and *Lancaster*, by the testimonies beyond exception of witnesses, not onely present, but presidents in their tryall and arraignment. Some execute their hellish intentions by infernall compositions, drawne out of the bowels of dead and murthered Infants; as *Ioannes Baptist Porta* in his booke *de Magia naturali*, doth from his owne knowledge affirme, and thereto the *Malleus Maleficarum* with others doe assent.

Some practise also Sorcery by tying knots, as Sant *Ierome* testifieth in *vita Hilarij*, concerning a priest of *Æsculapius* at *Memphis*. Some practise Witch-craft by touching with the hand or finger onely, as *Binsfeldius* saith. Some in their Sorcerous acts or coniurations, vse parchment made of the skinne of Infants, or children borne before their time: as *Serres* reporteth from the confession of Witches, in the time and raigne of *Henry* the fourth detected. Some for the promoting of their Diuelish deuices, vse the ministery of liuing creatures, or of Diuels and spirits in their *likenesse as histories report, and *Theocritus* in his *Pharmacentria*, seemeth to credit, inducing there a Sorceresse, who by the power of her bird, did drawe and force her Louer to come vnto her.

*Perkins discourse of Witch-craft, chap. 2. page. 98.

This seemeth not impossible vnto a Witch, by the multitude of liuing shapes, which the Diuell in former ages hath vsually assumed, termed *Fawnes, Satyres, Nymphes*, and the like, familiarly conuersing with men. Some bring their cursed Sorcery vnto their wished end, by sacrificing vnto the Diuell some liuing creatures, as *Serres* likewise witnesseth, from the confession of Witches in *Henry* the fourth of *France* deprehended; among whom, one confessed to haue offered vnto his Diuell or Spirit a Beetle.

This seemeth not improbable, by the Diabolicall litations and bloudy sacrifices, not onely of other creatures, but euen of men, wherewith in ancient time the heathen pleased their gods, which were no other then Diuels. And rather then the Diuell will altogether want worship, he is sometimes contented to accept the parings of nailes; as *Serres* from the confession of certaine French Witches doth report. Some Authors write, that some sorts of Sorcerers are obserued to fasten vpon men their Magicall mischieuous effects, and workes, by conueying or deliuering vnto the persons, whom they meane to assault, meats, or drinkes, or other such like; as is euident by the generall knowne power of the Magicke cups of the inchaunted Filtra or loue draughts: and as seemeth iustified by S. *Augustine*, in his 18. booke *de Ciuitate Dei*, making mention of a woman who bewitched others, by deliuering only a piece of cheese. Some of our late Countrie-men haue obserued, some Witches to mischiefe or surprise such as they intend maliciously to destroy, by obtaining some part or parcell of their garments, or any excrements belonging vnto them, as their hayre, or the like.

It is not to be doubted that the Diuell, that old *Proteus*, is able to change and metamorphise his rites, ceremonies, and superstitions, into what new shapes or formes are best sutable to his pleasure and his fellow-contractors most commodious vses and purposes. Concerning all the former mentioned, although it be exceeding difficult; nay, an impossible thing for any man to auouch euery of them

true

true in his owne knowledge or experience; yet for that ſome kindes of them wee may aſſuredly know and beleeue from God himſelfe, who hath in his ſacred word nominated both * apparitions of the Diuel, as alſo, incantations, charmes, * ſpels and familiarity with Spirits; as alſo for that reaſon doth demonſtrate, that there may be many more kinds, beſides thoſe named of the ſame likeneſſe, nature abuſed, and diueliſh vſe; and for that vnto otherſome, the credit, worth and merit of thoſe Writers by whom they haue been obſerued and publiſhed, doth giue weight and eſtimation, it may be approoued as an infallible concluſion, that whereſoeuer any of them or the like, being diligently enquired after, are either really found, or in apparence or ſhew reſembling, that there (with the concurrence of circumſtances, and approoued precedence of a manifeſt worke of Sorcery conſenting) that there, I ſay, it ought to be ſufficient & vncontroled matter, or occaſion of iuſt ſuſpicion and preſumption againſt the particular, in whom they are by iuſt witneſſes free from exception, detected and palpably knowne, practiſed and exerciſed. As we haue now briefly recited and called to minde ſome ſorts of ſuch ceremonies, rites, ſuperſtitions, manners, inſtruments and geſtures as are annexed vnto that kinde of Sorcery or Witch-craft which conſiſteth in action: So let vs alſo recite ſome other ſorts of ceremonies, rites, and ſuperſtitions, which belong vnto that kinde of Sorcery which is conuerſant in diuinations, reuelations of things hidden, predictions, and prophecies. Diuinations according to nature or art, as *Cicero* diſtinguiſheth in his firſt booke *de Diuinatione*, we doe not intend or purpoſe, but that diuination which the ſame Author in the ſame place doth refer into a power aboue man, which he there termeth the power of the gods, betweene whom and diuination, the *Stoickes* make this reciprocation, *Si ſit Diuinatio, Dij ſunt, ſi Dij ſint eſt Diuinatio*; that is, if there be right diuination or prediction of things to come not contained in Art or Nature, certainly that diuination is of the gods, as reciprocally

* Iſaiah 8.19.
* Sam. 1.28.
9. Exod. Leuit. Deutron.

where there are Gods, there is diuination. Here wee see plainely, not onely the antiquity, but the direct originall of diuinations, and that they do manifestly derive themselues from Idol-gods, from Infidels, from Idolaters.

This is further euident likewise, by the generall current and report of all Historics, euen from the first beginning and foundation of *Rome* by *Romulus*, as through all ancient writings and writers, the frequent mention of *Augury*, *Auspicy*, *Extispicy*, and the like, doth plentifully witnesse. The holy Scripture also and Word of God doth testifie the same, *Deut.* 18. *verse* 9, 10, 11. where diuination by the flying of fowles, by the obseruation of times, and the like, are reckoned among the abominations of the Nations, or Gentiles.

The originall then of Diuinations issuing from Diuels (because from false gods, the gods of the heathen and Idolaters) let vs for the better noting of the abomination it selfe, obserue and point out some of their ceremonies, manners, and superstitions also.

Some in olde time vsed to diuine, as by the flying of fowles, so by viewing of lightning, by monsters, by lots, by inspection of the Starres, by dreames, *per monstra, & portenta, fulgura, sortes, Insomnia, per Astra*, as *Cicero* testifieth at large in his bookes *de Diuinatione*. Some did vse to draw their Diuinations out of tubs, or vessels of water, wherein-to were cast certaine thin plates of siluer and gold, and other precious Iewels, by which the Diuels (which Infidels ignorantly called their gods) were allured to answere vnto demands, doubts, and questions, as is by *Psellus* described, and was vsuall among the *Assyrian* coniectors. Some deriued their Diuinations from looking-glasses, wherein the Diuell satisfied vnto demands and questions, by figures and shapes there appearing.

This kinde of Diuination was called [illegible] whereunto came very neere and was like [illegible]. Some fetch their Diuinations by lots, taken from points, letters, characters, figures, words, syllables, sentences, which kinde of diuination

diuination is diſtinguiſhed by the name of [illegible]. If we ſhould number vp euery particular kinde of ſhape, wherein Diuination doeth ſhrowde it ſelfe, it would prooue a long and tedious voyage, not onely through fire, water, ayre, earth, and other farre diſtant and diuided parts of the wide and ſpacious world, but through ſiues, riddles, the guts and bowels of the dead, and many other ſecret haunts & holes, wherein as the inuincible *Labyrinths* of intricate illuſions, the Diuell doeth ſhadow and hide his ſubtill inſidiation of ſilly deceiued man.

He that deſireth more curiouſly to reade other particulars herein, I referre him vnto S. *Auguſtine, de natura Dæmonum*, and to *Camerarius, de Diuinationum generibus*. It is ſufficient that the trueth and poſſibilitie of theſe kindes of Diuinations and the like, with their ceremonies, rites, cuſtomes, and ſuperſtitions; as alſo their deteſted originall, end, vſe, and abomination, is eſteemed diuelliſh by the Word of God, and his moſt ſacred voyce, wherein vnder thoſe kindes of Diuination, by the flying of fowles, obſeruation of times, *Deut.* 18. *verſe* 10, 11. and vaine gazing and beholding the Starres, *Iſaiah* 47. 13. he diſplayeth and iudgeth the nature and qualitie of all other the like, couered by what ſtiles or names ſoeuer. The enumeration of any more ſorts, might increaſe in number, and aduance curioſitie, but can adde nothing in ſubſtance or materiall vſe. The reaſon that the Diuell requireth theſe rites and ceremonies, S. *Auguſtine* doeth declare *lib.* 21. *cap.* 6. *de Ciuit. Dei, Alliciuntur Dæmones* (ſaith he) *per varia genera lapidum, herbarum, lignorum, animalium, carminum, rituum, non vt animalia cibis, ſed vt ſpiritus ſignis, in quantum ſcilicet hæc iis adhibentur in ſignum diuini honoris cuius ipſi ſunt cupidi.* That is, Diuels are drawne or Coniured, by diuers kindes of ſtones, hearbes, woodes, creatures, words, times, rites, or ceremonies, not as liuing creatures deſire food, but as ſpirits reioyce or delight in ſignes, becauſe thoſe ſignes argue reſpect, worſhip, and honour, whereof they are very ambitious and deſirous, as affecting Diuine worſhippe in

malice of God himselfe and his Diuine worship. To the same purpose saith *Bunsfeldius Comment. vel Explicat. in prælud. 9. Delectantur Dæmones signis cum imitari Deum audeant in Sacramentis suis.* That is, Diuels delight in signes, rites, and ceremonies, as desiring to imitate, or to be like God in his Sacraments.

Wee haue summarily (wherein for our information is sufficient competence) produced some few sorts of ceremonies, rites, and superstitious gestures in both kindes, that is, both such as belong to that kinde of Sorcery, which consisteth in act, and working, as also that which is exercised in Diuination, prediction, and reuelation.

The generall rule and reason is the same, and extendeth it selfe equally against both.

Let vs then in the conclusion thus conioyne them both together. What man is he among men so blind, who beholding in any man the former ceremonies, rites, preludions, or gestures, being suspicious notes, markes, cognizances, and badges of Sorcerers and Witches, in either kinde, and doeth not thinke that he may with good reason doubt the ordinary correspondence of fruits, & workes answerable thereto? Vnto the former presumption, if circumstances of time, place, instruments and meanes, fitting such diuelliſh Actes, opportunitie, and the like doe adde their force, doeth not iust occasion of doubt increase? For illustration and example, let vs suppose a person of a curious and * inquisitiue disposition in things hidden or inhibited, a man voide of the feare and knowledge of God, a searcher after Sorcerers, and their diuelliſh Artes, educate among them by kindred, affinitie, or neighbour-hood, with them hauing generall opportunitie vnto inchoation into that Diabolicall mysterie, a man likely and prone to become a receptacle of Diuels, expressed by his long obserued, or knowne flying from, or hating all occasions or places, where the name, mention, worshippe, or adoration of Almighty God is in any kinde vsed; a man out of whose cursed lips hath at any time beene heard, the

* Mait. Perkins in his discourse of Witchcraft, chap. 2. pag. 9.

the * renouncing of God, or voluntary profession of loue and friendship vnto the Diuel (all which with horror sometimes my owne eares did heare, in a * woman at an open assise, being there indited vpon suspicion of Witch-craft.)

Let vs yet further consider in the same man, an extraordinary alienation of himselfe, from all societie and company with men (for that familiar conuersation with Diuels, begetteth an hatred and detestation, both of the remembrance of God or sight of men) likewise a frequentation or solemne haunting of desarte* places, forsaken & vnaccustomed of men, the habitations of *Zym* and *Iym*, graues and sepulchres. This seemeth, *Math.* 8. *Luke* 8. *Marke* 5. in the possessed true.

The possessed and the Witch, are both the habitacles of Diuels; with this onely difference, that the Witch doth willingly entertaine him.

His custome of haunting tombes and sepulchres, in the one doth make it probable, and credible in the other. Likewise a solitary solacing himselfe, or accustoming abroad oft, and vsually alone, and vnaccompanied at times and houres vnusuall and vncouth to men, as the most darke seasons of the night, fitting the darke workes, and the workemen of the Prince of Darkenes.

Let vs yet more particularly obserue this man branded with the former note, seeming or professing to practise workes aboue the power and possibilitie of man, to threaten or promise to performe, beyond the custome of men, whether in generall, or toward any particular. In a diuellish intended action bent against any particular, likewise wee may diligently examine any manifest speciall prouocation, first giuen: secondly, an apparent apprehension thereof expressed by words, gestures, or deedes: thirdly intention, or expectation, succeeding the prouocation, starting out oft-times, or intimated by any rash, vnaduised, or sudaine proiect of headie and vnbridled passion: fourthly, the opportunitie sutable vnto such an intended desseigne, as time and place competent for accesse, speech, sight,

* Perkins chap. 2. pag. 48. discourse of Witch-craft.

* She was easie and ready to professe, that she renounced God and all his workes, but being acquired to say that shee renounced the Diuell & all his works, she did refuse it with this addition of the reason, (videlicet) for that the Diuell had neuer done her any hurt.

* Serres, from the confession of Witches detected and censured in the raigne of Henry 4. of France.

ſight, or receiuing from, or giuing vnto the particular, againſt whom ſuch diuelliſh thoughts are ſet, any thing, wherein any inchanted power or vertue is vſually hid and conueighed.

After a Sorcerous deede is thus certainely obſerued to proceede, we may then further with vigilant circumſpection view, whether ought may be detected, iuſtly arguing his reioycing pride, or boaſting therein, that ſtandeth iuſtly ſuſpected, or ought that may prooue or expreſſe his doubt, or feare of diſcouery, his guilty lookes, cunning euaſions, ſhifting, lying, or contradictory anſweres, and apologies vnto particulars vrged.

Theſe circumſtances and the like, though each alone and ſingle may ſeeme of no moment or weight, yet concurring together, or aptly conferred, they oft produce a verth from whence doth iſſue full & complete ſatisfaction. *Veriſimilia ſingula ſuo pondere mouent, coacerwata multum proficiunt* (ſaith *Cicero*) that is, euery ſingle circumſtance hath his weight and vſe, but conſenting and concurring together, they doe much aduantage. Since then what vertue or power ſoeuer, circumſtances and preſumptions, doe vſually and generally vnfold in all other ſubiects or matters whatſoeuer, the ſame equally and as largely, reaſon doeth here diſplay and offer in this of Witch-craft: why ſhould not the like practiſe thereof herein alſo bee vrged and found, as likely and ſucceſſull? I doe not commend or allow the vſuall raſh, fooliſh and fantaſticall abuſe of circumſtances, nor their wreſting and forging, nor the coniuration or raiſing vp of their likeneſſe, and ſhadowes, without any ſubſtance or trueth (as is too common and vulgar) out of meere fancy or defect of true iudgement, without the due manifeſtation of a certaine crime firſt in this kinde aſſured.

But where all the former circumſtances doe truely and really occurre, or moſt of them, or the moſt materiall amongſt them with an apparant vncontrouled precedent cuidence of an vndoubted act of Sorcery, and are not indirectly

directly wrested or guilefully extorted, but directly proued, & fairely produced and vrged; what man inioying his common sense or reason, can be ignorant, what a large scope and faire fielde they doe yeeld to sent, to trace and chace the most hidden and secret guilt of Witches whatsoeuer, out of their vtmost shifting most close couerts and subtill concealements?

I doe not affirme circumstances and presumptions simply in themselues sufficient to prooue or condemne a Witch: but what reasonable man will or can doubt or deny, where first a manifest worke of Sorcery is with true iudgement discerned, and knowne certainely perpetrate: that the former circumstances and presumptions pointing vnto a particular, doe giue sufficient warrant, reason, and matter of calling that particular into question, & of inioyning and vrging him vnto his purgation and iustification from those euill apparances, whereby through the differencies, iarres, contrarieties, and contradictions of the false faces and vizards of seeming truth (because identity and vnity is properly and solely found with truth it selfe inuiolable and the false) guiltines is oft vnable to finde a couert to hid it selfe, but rubbed or galled vnto the quicke, doth breake out and issue forth in his owne perfect and vndeceiuing likenesse. It may be obiected, that it doth commonly fall out, and is oft seene, that the hearts of Witches are by the Diuell so possessed, so hardned and sealed vp against all touch, either of any conscience, or the least sparke of the affections of men left in them, that there is no possibility, or hope of any preualence, by the pressing of any presumptions or circumstances, which they for the most part will answere with wilfull and peruerse silence.

This is and may be sometimes true, yet is no sufficient reason, why due proofe and tryall should not alwayes diligently be made herein, since first experience it selfe doth witnesse a manifest benefite thereby: secondly, the like reasonable course and practice is knowne both vsuall, fruitfull and effectuall in all other disquisitions, and inquisitions whatsoeuer: and thirdly, the Diuell himselfe, the Witches

and Sorcerers great and grauns Master, though of farre fewer words then Witches, (as seldome speaking at all) and abounding with farre more subtilty and cunning; yet is he not able by all his art or cunning, alwayes to hide his owne workes, but by presumptions and circumstances, wise and vnderstanding hearts doe oft discerne and discouer them, as is by daily experience seene and testified, and is confirmed by the proofe which all holy and godly men haue euer had thereof. And to this purpose, and for this cause the holy Scripture doth require Gods chosen children, to sift and try the Spirits, whether they be of God or not: that is, whether they be of his holy spirit, or of the euill spirit which is the Diuell.

Although therefore God for his owne secret decree, or purpose, doe permit the Diuell sometimes to hide and shadow the guilt of his associates, Witches and Sorcerers, from the sight or deprehension of man, and thereby, sometimes, fruitrate mans iuit endeauour and duty of their discouery; yet doth he not totally or altogether herein subiect, or captiuate, or abridge mans power or possibility of preualence, euen against all the power and force of Diuels, as oft-times our dullest senses cannot choose but witnesse.

Could the Diuell, or their owne craft whatsoeuer, deliuer the Sorcerers from destruction out of the hands of *Saul*, who iustly destroyed them all out of the land of Israel, *1. Sam.* 18. *verse* 9. or out of the hands of *Iosias*, who according to lawe, tooke away or abolished all that had familiar Spirits, and Southsayers. 2. *Kings chap.* 23. *verse* 24? The extirpation of these Southsayers, by those Princes, was commended of God, and by his Lawe commanded, *Leuit.* 20. 27. The same Lawe of God commaundeth, that no man be iudged or put to death, but by the mouth of two witnesses, from whence it is necessarily collected, that the workes of Sorcery are not alwayes hidden, but oft-times so open, that they may be manifestly noted; otherwise, how could they be testified, which vnto their condemnation the Lawe doth euer presuppose and necessarily commaund?

Neither

Neither is this Lawe of God any thing discrepant from the common equity of all lawes, or from reason it selfe: first, for that many workes of Sorcery doe immediately in their first view, manifest themselues to the sense, as is euident, by the miraculous workes of the Enchaunters of Egypt, practised in the sight of *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*. Secondly, for that many workes are apparent manifestly to Reason, in which, though the sense cannot immediately discerne, or take notice of their quality and authour; yet by necessary inference and euidence of reason, they are certainly and demonstratiuely proued to issue from the power and force of Spirits and Diuels, as hath beene formerly declared, concerning both workes and also diuinations, prophecies, and reuelations hidden from all curiosity and possibility of man. Thirdly, for that circumstances and presumptions doe with good and likely reason call into question, and iustly charge with suspicion (as hath beene instanced) concerning the performers and practisers of ceremonious rites, superstitious gestures, actions and manners vsuall vnto Witches and sorcerers. Since then, as is before prooued, Almighty God doth inioyne a necessity of testimonies, vnto all condemnations and iudgements of death whatsoeuer, and testimony doth alwaies necessarily include a manifestation of whatsoeuer is testified, either to sense, or reason, or both; it followeth as a necessary conclusion vnto all that hath bin said: that from things either manifest to sense, or euident to reason, issueth wholly and solely, not onely the reasonable and likely way of detection of Witches, but the very true way by God himselfe, in all true reason intended and commanded. And from this way it is, both by multitudes of examples, by experience and reason manifest, that neither Witches, nor the Diuell himselfe is altogether able to hide or defend their guilt. Diligence therefore herein duely and carefully exercising it selfe certainely shall not, nor can prooue the Lawe of God vaine, nor the owne endeauour frustrate or voide, although haply difficulties and impediments may sometimes interrupt, as in

all other cases and affaires is vsuall.

Thus hath beene made manifest how Witch-craft is discouerable by reason, and euident by reason; likewise, that it is no more inscrutable or hidden from detection in the inquisition thereof, by signes of presumption, probable and likely coniecture or suspicion, then all other intricate or hidden subiects, or obiects of the vnderstanding whatsoeuer. For, although presumptions are alone no sufficient proofe, yet doe they yeeld matter and occasion of diligent and iudicious inquisition, which is the reasonable way and due method of vpright proceeding, and the common, hopefull and warranted path vnto all detections, in all other cases of doubt and difficulty whatsoeuer; wherein I see no cause or reason, why iudicious, wary and wise practise and proofe, weighing and pressing circumstances into the bone and marrow, should not equally, in case of Witch-craft, as in all other cases of iudgement and inquisitions (though not euer because that exceedes the nature of presumption) equally, I say, and as oft should not confound the guilty, and chase and winde out as sure an issue.

Certainely, if men would more industriously exercise their sharper wits, exquisite sense, and awaked iudgements, according vnto the former reasonable, religious, and iudicious wayes, exempt from the burthen and incumbrance of blinde superstitions, traditionary and imaginary inuentions and customes, no doubt, but experience would yeeld and bring forth in short time, a much more rich increase of satisfaction, and more happy detection in iudiciall proceedings.

It is true, that in the case of Witch-craft many things are very difficult, hidden and infolded in mists and clouds, ouershadowing our reason and best vnderstanding.

Notwithstanding, why should men be more impatient or deiected, that in matters of Witch-craft, many things are oft hidden from our knowledge, and discouery, when the same darkenesse, obscurity, difficulty and doubtfulnesse, is a thing ordinary in many other subiects beside, as necessary

tary vnto vs, and concerning which, it may be no lesse truely said, that in this life of mortality, much more is that which is vnknowne, then that which is knowne and reuealed vnto vs.

Hence is that ancient saying of the Philosopher: *Hoc tantum scio, quòd nihil scio,* that is, so few are those things, which are demonstratiuely, truely, and certainely knowne, that they are nothing in comparison of the infinite number and multitude of such things, as are either onely probable, or obscure or inscrutable.

For to deny that God hath giuen vnto man a great measure of knowledge in many things, were not onely grosse darknesse and blindnesse, but great ingratitude, yea impiety. Neuertheleſſe, it were also as great fatuity not to see or acknowledge, that God hath mixed this knowledge with much intricate difficulty and ambiguity, which notwithstanding he doth in his wisedome more or lesse reueale distribute and dispense, in seuerall measures, vnto seuerall men, according to their seuerall cares, studies, indefatigable paines, and more industrious indeauour, in seeking and inquiring it: in defect whereof more commonly then either in Gods decreed restraint, or natures abnuence, mens desires and labours are so often annihilate.

CHAP. XIII.

The confutation of diuers erroneous wayes, vnto the discouery of Witches, vulgarly receiued and approued.

AS true religion doth truely teach the true worship of God in that true manner which he requireth, and commandeth: so superstition in an vnapt measure or manner, doth offer vp and sacrifice her vaine & foolish zeale or feare. Vnto her therefore & her sacrifice, thus doth Almighty God reply; Who required this at your hands? I hate and abhorre your Sabboths and your new Moones, *Isa.* 1.12.13. The heathen Oratour could say, *Religio continetur cultu pio*

Deorum. True religion consisteth in the holy and true worship of God. Vnto the aduancing of the worship of the true God, the extirpation of Witches and Witch-craft (because it is the most abominable kinde of Idolatry) is a speciall seruice, and acceptable duty vnto God, expressely commanded by himselfe, *Deut.* 17 3.4 5.

In the performance therefore of this worship, as it is solely and truely religious, to seeke their extermination by those meanes, and in that manner, which Almightie God doth approue and allowe: so with misgouerned zeale or feare, in the ignorance, or neglect of the right manner or way, inconsiderately to follow vnwarranted pathes thereto, is plaine Superstition.

Iulius Scaliger, in his third booke of Poetrie, thus describeth very liuely the nature of Superstition. *Superstitio satisfacit ad notandum cum habitum, quo metuimus, aut Deum sine ratione, aut ei opera attribuimus quæ operante cogitauit quidem vnquam ille*, that is, this word Superstition doth serue to set forth such an habit or disposition of minde, wherein wee worship or so feare God, as is voide of cause or reason, or vnto our owne hurt or damage, we attribute vnto God, as of God, those workes or things, which Almighty God himselfe neuer thought or intended. The word which the Greekes vse for Superstition, is *daimonia, inconsulta & absurda diuinæ potentiæ formido*, that is, an absurd, and ill-aduised feare or worship of God, which certainely is there, where he neither requireth it, nor is true cause or reason either of such worship, or in such sort or manner.

In this speciall part therefore of the worship and feare of God, namely, in the discouery of Witch-craft and Sorcery, as wee haue before laboured to finde out those waies which are lawfull, iustifiable, and allowed: so let vs now briefly display the folly and vanity of erroneous and blind pathes, pointing deceitfully thereto; that we seeke not superstitiously to serue God, in our inioyned and commanded duties of the discoueries of Witches, with our owne vanities or follies, rash inuentions, or deuices: but in reasonable, iust, discreete

discreete and religious proceeding, which is onely and solely acceptable with God.

In former ages and times, haue been published by diuers writers, many ridiculous traditions, herein so vaine, and so farre vnworthy any serious confutation, that they scarce deserue so much as bare mention.

Of this sort are the imagined profligations of the fits of the bewitched, by beholding the face of a Priest, by being touched by hallowed ointments, or liniments, by the vertue of exorcisation, of incense, of odours, of certaine mumbled sacred or mistical words.

I will therefore omit these, as by time it selfe worne exolete, found worthlesse, and almost of later writers left nameless: and will onely oppose and examine such later experiments, as doe in our time and country most preuaile in esteeme.

CHAP. XIIII.

The casting of Witches into the water, Scratching, Beating, Pinching, and drawing of blood of Witches.

That is vulgarly credited, that the casting of supposed Witches bound into the water, and the water refusing or not suffering them to sinke within her bosome or bowels, is an infallible detection that such are Witches.

If this experiment be true, then must it necessarily so be, either as a thing ordinary, or as a thing extraordinary: because nothing can happen or fall out, that is not limited within this circuit or compasse.

That which is ordinary, is naturall; as likewise that which is natural, is ordinary. *Aristotle* in the second of his *Ethickes* saith of that which is naturall: *quod aliter non assurgit*, that is, ordinarily it is not otherwise, then euer the same. From whence it doth follow by good consequent, that whatsoeuer is ordinary, must be naturall, because it keepeth the same

same course and order, which is the property of nature.

For this cause *Scaliger* in his booke *de subtilitate* saith, *Natura est ordinaria Dei potestas*, that is, nature is the ordinary power of God, in the ordinary course and gouernment of all things.

If then this experiment in the tryall of Witches, be as a thing ordinary (as it is vulgarly esteemed) it must be found likewise naturall. If it cannot be found naturall, it cannot be ordinary. That it is not, nor cannot be naturall, is manifest.

First, for that the ordinary nature of things senseless and voide of reason, doth not distinguish one person from another, vertue from vice, a good man from an euill man. This our Sauiour himselfe doth confirme, *Math. 5. verse. 45.* God maketh his sunne to arise on the euill, and the good, and sendeth raine on the iust and vniust.

Nay, we may further obserue in the booke of God, and also reade in the booke of nature and common experience, that the common benefit of nature, is not onely vouchsafed vnto all wicked men indifferently, but euen vnto Diuels themselues, who doe not onely participate in nature the common essence, faculties and powers, proper vnto the substance and nature of all other Spirits; but also doe exercise these powers and spirituall forces vsually vpon other inferiour natures, subiect vnto their supernaturall nature, reach and efficacy, as is often seene in their workes euen vpon the bodies and goods of the blessed Saints and sonnes of God.

Hereby then is euident, that nature cannot take notice, or distinguish a wicked man, no not a Diuell, and therefore much lesse a Witch.

But here may be obiected, that diuers herbs and other simples, produce many strange and wondered effects, by an hidden secret, and occult qualitie and property in nature, though there appeare no manifest qualitie oft-times in the herb, by which in reason or probabilitie they should or can bee effectuall thereto. This Physicions doe dayly witnesse

and

and prooue true.

Why then may not there bee likewiſe yeelded the like hidden power, or antipatheticall vertue in the nature of the element of water, and thereby a Witch bee detected; as well without knowne cauſe or reaſon thereof in nature; notwithſtanding naturally the euils or diſeaſes both of body and minde, are both detected, and cured by elementary ſubſtances or compoſitions, in which there is no manifeſt knowne proportion therewith?

It is truly anſwered, that although in this ſuppoſed experiment of the diſpoſition of the element of water towards Witches, caſualty may haply ſometimes ſeeme to iuſtifie it true; yet is not this ſufficient to euince it a thing naturall. Thoſe things which are naturall, neceſſarily and euer produce their effect, except ſome manifeſt or extraordinary interception or impediment hinder.

Thus fire doth neceſſarily, ordinarily, and alwaies burne and conſume any combuſtible matter or fuell being added thereto, except either ſome manifeſt or extraordinary hindrance oppoſe it. The like may be ſaide of all other elements for their naturall effects in their proper obiects. Naturall medicines likewiſe, if rightly accommodated with prudence, art and diſcretion vnto the right diſeaſe, doe neuer faile their vſuall productions or effects.

This Almighty God in his holy writ doth confirme, and long and aged experience of many hundreths of yeares hath ſucceſſiuely witneſſed, wherein the ancient records of all learned writers, haue euer teſtified innumerable medicinal herbs and drugges, certainely and truely to bee euer the ſame. Preſent times doe likewiſe ſee & witnes it, and no man doth or can doubt it in the right proofe. Concerning any ſuch nature or cuſtome in the element of water, in the refragation of Witches, who was as yet euer able to write and fully reſolue, or prooue it ordinary, neceſſary, certaine, euer or for the moſt part, not failing as is in courſe of nature moſt infallible and neuer doubted? What former ages haue ſucceſſiuely vouchſafed the mention of truth or cer-

tainty therein? Hath Almighty God, at all, so much as approued any opinion or thought thereof? Is it not rather to be iustly doubted, that it may be esteemed among the abominations of the Gentiles, which God in his people doth deteſt, *Deut.* 18. *verſe* 9? Doe all men in our time, or good and iuſt men auouch their owne proofe in the tryall thereof? Or contrariwiſe, doe not many wiſe, religious, learned and equall minds with reaſon reiect and contemne it? Doth Law as yet eſtablish it, or reaſon prooue it? How can it then be propoſed as equiualent with thoſe reaſonable meanes or wayes, of iuſt proceedings or tryalls, which God, his diuine Lawe, his law of nature, iudgement, reaſon, experience, and the lawes of men haue euer witneſſed, perpetually and onely aſſured certaine and infallible?

It wanteth the vniuerſall teſtimony of former ages and Writers; in this our age it is held in iealouſie with the moſt iudicious, ſage, and wiſe: It hath no reaſonable proofe, no iuſtifiable tryall hath dared to auouch it vpon publike record, no lawe hath as yet, thought it worthy of admittance; and the Lawe of God is not prooued to prooue or approue it. If it had beene a thing naturall, ordinary, or neceſſary, or of certaine operation or power, and therein ſo euidently remarkeable, it is impoſſible it ſhould haue eſcaped authenticall approbation, or the ſame notable teſtimonies, which all other tryed truths haue euer obtained. From the former premiſes therefore we conclude, that it cannot be a thing naturall, neceſſary or ordinary. If it be not ordinary, then is it not alwaies the ſame; if not alwayes the ſame, then is it ſometimes failing; if ſometimes failing, then is it not infallible; if not infallible, then in no true iudgement or iuſtice to be truſted or credited. It now remaineth to inquire, whether being prooued falſe or ordinary, it may not be prooued true as extraordinary (for to eſteeme or grant it both is an impoſſibility in nature, and an abſurdity in reaſon.) Let vs grant, it may be iudged and deemed extraordinary; the next doubt then remaining is, whether being extraordinary or miraculous, it be of God or of the Diuell.

The

The reason why some men suppose it should be of God, is, for that the water is an element which is vsed in Baptisme, and therefore by the miraculous and extraordinary power of God, doth reiect and refuse those who haue renounced their vowe and promise thereby, made vnto God, of which sort are Witches.

If this reason be sound and good, why should not Bread and Wine, being elements in that Sacrement of the Eucharist, be likewise noted and obserued to turne backe, or fly away from the throates, mouthes, and teeth of Witches? and why, (if for the former reason, the water being an element in the Sacrament of couenant, made with God, in the first initiation into the faith, doe for that cause refuse to receiue Witches into her bosome, and thereby giue an infallible proofe of a Witch?) Why, I say, should not by the same reason Bread and Wine, being elements in the Sacrament of confirmation and growth of faith, refuse and fly from those much more, whose faith and promise made vnto God in riper and more vnderstanding yeares, is by them renounced? And why for that cause, should not Bread and Wine become as infallible markes and testimonies vnto the detection of Witches? If the reason be good in the first, it must necessarily be the same in the second; and if it faile in the second, it cannot be good or sound in the first. Neither doth it or can it stand with any good reason at all, that because so small part of the element of water, is set apart vnto that religious seruice in the Sacrament; therefore, the whole element of water, or all other waters must thereby obtaine any generall common property aboue the kinde or nature. Neither is it as yet agreed, or concluded generally among the most learned, and reuerend Diuines, whether that small part of water which in particular is set apart, or vsed in the Sacrament, doth thereby receiue any manifest alteration at all in substance, essence, nature or quality. If then that part of the element of water it selfe, which is hallowed vnto that holy vse be not manifested, or apparently prooued to be thereby indowed with any vertue, much lesse

can it communicate any vertue vnto other waters, which did not participate therewith in the same religious seruice. Except then there may be prooued by this religious vse of water, some more endowment of grace or religion therein, then is in other elements, why should it more fly from a Witch then the fire, then the ayre, then the earth? The fire doth warme them, the ayre fleeth not from them, but giueth them breathing; the earth refuseth not to beare them, to feede them, to bury them. Why then should the water alone runne away or flye from them? It may be answered, that it is a miracle, whereof therefore there neither can nor ought reason in nature to be demaunded or giuen. If it be a miracle, it is either a true miracle, which onely and solely doth exceed the power of any * created nature, or is a seeming miracle by the power of the Diuell, working effects in respect of mans reason, nature, and power supernaturall and impossible; notwithstanding confined and limited within the generall rule, reason and power of vniuersall nature, which he * cannot exceed or transcend, being a finite creature, and no infinite Creator.

* Non est creator, nisi qui principaliter format: nec quisquam hoc potest, nisi vnus Creator Deus. Aug. 3. de Trin.

* Augustinus 3. de Trin. Alia potest si non prohibetur, Dæmon: Alia non potest, etsi permittatur, quemadmodum homo potest, ambulare si non prohibeatur, volare non potest, etsi permittatur Petr. Lomb. Sent. lib. 2. Dist 7.

Miracles, of the first kinde, are raising from the dead the son of the widow of Sarepta, by *Elias* 3. of the kings, 17. the dividing the water of *Iordan* with *Elias* cloake, 4. of the *Kings* 2. the curing of the sicke by S. *Pauls* handkercher, *Act.* 5. 19. the raising *Lazarus* by our blessed Sauiour, and the like.

Miracles of the second kinde, are all the workes of the Enchanters of *Egypt*, *Exod.* 7. which were onely diuelish sleights, cunning * imitations, counterfets, and Diaboli-call resemblances and shadowes of the true miracles, wrought by Almighty God, in the hand of his seruant *Moses*.

If this miracle, or this miraculous detection of Witches by water, be of this later kinde, it is of the Diuell; and is not to be esteemed or named, where the Name of God is feared or called vpon.

For although the cunning fraude of the Diuell, aboue and beyond

beyond all capacitie of the weake sense and vnderstanding of man, doe so liuely oft-times cast before our eyes, the outward shape and similitude of the miracles of God, that man is not able easily to distinguish them, or at first sight to put a true difference: yet must men studiously, and circumspectly be aduised herein, least rashly they confound, or equall the vile and abiect illusions of that damned creature the Diuell (though neuer so wonderfull in our eyes) vnto the infinite power of the Almighty Creator, in his true and truely created miracles, which is an high dishonour vnto our God, and accursed impiety.

For this cause, the holy Scripture hath admonished and warned the weakenesse of humane vnderstanding, not to be transported by signes and wonders, nor to trust or giue credit to euery miracle: and our Sauiour himselfe, *Math.* 24. *verse.* 24 doth furnish his Disciples with carefull warning herein. And S. *Iohn*, in his Reuelation fore-telleth, that in the latter dayes and times, the Diuell and the great Whore of Babylon, shall with great signes, wonders, and miracles, seduce and deceiue the last ages, and people of the world.

Since then miracles are of no validity, except certainely and truely knowne to be of God; and since also it is not easie for euery Spirit to discerne therein; let vs duely examine and sift this our supposed and proposed miracle in the tryall and detection of Witches. *Petrus Gregorius Tholosanus* in his *Syntagma Iuris lib.* 2. *cap.* 12. in a tractate concerning the Relicks and Monuments of Saints, together with miracles, doth giue very honest, sound, and substantiall direction.

First, that all credited miracles be found and allowed by religious lawes and authorities.

Secondly, that the persons by whom they are first reuealed or knowne, or by whom they are auouched, be *testes idonei, omni, exceptione maiores*, that is, that they be worthy witnesses of vndoubted and vnstained credit and worth, free from all iust exception, of holy life, and vnstained conuer-

fation. Without these cautions (saith he) no miracles ought to be esteemed, or receiued as of truth.

How farre our vulgar tryall of Witches, by the supposed miraculous indication and detection of them by the water, is different from this care or respect, this equitie, religion, or humanitie, common practise doth openly declare, when without allowance of any law, or respect of common ciuilitie, euery priuate, rash, and turbulent person, vpon his owne surmise of a Witch, dare barbarously vndertake by vnciuill force and lawlesse violence, to cast poore people bound into the water, and there deteine them, for their owne vaine and foolish lusts, without sense, or care of the shamefull wrong, or iniury, which may befall oft-times innocents thereby.

Though this kinde of tryall of a Witch, might haply prooue in it selfe worthy to be allowed, yet is it not in euery priuate person iustifiable, or tolerable, or without warrant of authoritie in any sort excusable. The manner therefore of this vulgar tryall, must needs with iust and honest mindes, vncontrouersedly, and vndoubtedly, be rusticall, barbarous, and rude. Now to returne againe into the truth of the miracle it selfe in this tryall.

First, let vs enquire with *Petrus Gregorius*, what religious lawes or authoritie haue admitted it as true.

Secondly, what religious, reuerend, iudicious, graue, or holy Spectators, or eye-witnesses doe auouch it. Let vs yet farther proceede with the same Author, in the fore-named *Syntagma, lib.* 34 *cap.* 21. and by some other rules, farther examine this miracle, if it be well and duely auouched and credited, concerning the being thereof, whether that being be not a being of the Diuell, & of his miracles. *Conatus enim Dæmonum* (saith the Author) *vnum habet generalem scopum, operibus Dei se obiicere, ei debitum honorem subfurare, pios hominum animos sibi lucri facere, & a vero Deo retrahere.* That is, the workes of the Diuell haue one generall scope; namely, to oppose themselues against the workes of God, to rob God of his honour, to drawe the hearts of men from

from God, and to gaine them vnto himſelfe. Let vs now conſider the fore-named miracle by theſe rules.

Concerning the approbation thereof by any religious lawes or authority, I haue neuer read my ſelfe, nor haue heard by others, of any authentike ſuffiage from claſſicall Author, and with good reaſon, I may conceiue and iudge a nullity therein.

Concerning any religious, learned, and iudicious Spectators and auouchers of this miracle, whoſe faith and credit may be wholly free from all iuſt exception, it hath euer been a difficult and hard taske to furniſh any true ſufficiencie or competency in this kinde, though multitudes and ſwarmes of deceiued Vulgars, continually and violently obtrude their phantaſticall fominations. Since then as yet there doth no manifeſt law ſtand vp to patronage this miracle, and the learned, religious, and holy man able to diſcerne and iudge, and free from exception, is not at all, or hardly to be produced or found to auouch or countenance it true; it may be with good reaſon ſuſpected, and that reaſon may iuſtly diſſwade all ſodaine, raſh, or haſty credit or truſt thereof. Now let vs examine, if it were vndoubtedly to be aſſumed as true, whether being true, it be not as truely of the Diuell. And firſt let vs conſider, whether it doe not oppoſe the workes of God, which was the firſt direction of *Gregorius*. It is herein truely convicted, becauſe the nouelty and ſuppoſed miraculous force and might thereof, doth firſt viually and eaſily intiſe vnſetled braines, raſhly to forſake the wayes of iudgement and iudicious legall proceeding, which is the ordinance and worke of God: ſecondly, doth imbolden ſtaggering and vnreſolued minds preſumptuouſly without warrant to expect, to aske or ſeeke a ſigne or miracle, which ordinarily or vnneceſſarily required, our bleſſed Sauiour apertly condemneth, *Math.* 16. An adulterous and vnbeleeuing generation doth ſeeke a ſigne or miracle. And as herein it directly oppoſeth againſt the decree and worke of God, ſo likewiſe by giuing occaſion and way, that ſuppoſed miracles may become vulgarly common and ordinary

ordinary, whereby the true miracles and miraculous workes of God also may grow with vndiscerning men of lesse esteeme, vile and of no accompt. *Nam miracula Dei assiduitate vilescunt* (saith S. *Augustine*) the miracles and miraculous workes of God, being oft seene, become of final or no reputation. The second tryall of a false miracle, was the robbing of God of his due honour and praise, which in this proposed miracle is partly prooued; by making the extraordinary work or vse of miracles ordinary, and thereby derogating from the power, worth and nature of Gods true miracles (as is before said): partly by vnthankfull vnder-valewing, omitting, or relinquishing the ordinary meanes of tryals and detections of doubtfull truths, which God hath made & giuen in his good grace; and therefore their contempt and neglect is a manifest robbing of God of his due praise and glory therein. The third tryall of the Diuels property in miracles, was the seducing of mens hearts from God vnto himselfe, which in our supposed miracle may be necessarily concluded. For if the miracle it selfe be vpon good grounds before alleaged, rightfully deemed to bee of the Diuell; it must necessarily follow, that whatsoeuer esteeme or reputation is giuen thereto, is a secret sacrifice of ignorance or superstition vnto the Diuell, and an hidden and couert seduction from God. And thus hath beene prooued, or at least, with good reason alleaged. First that the tryall of Witches by water, is not naturall or according to any reason in nature. Secondly, if it be extraordinary and a miracle, that it is in greater likelihood and probability a miracle of the Diuell to infatuate, then any manifest miracle of God to glorifie his name, which is the true end of right miracles. Concerning the other imagined trials of Witches, as by beating, scratching, drawing blood from supposed or suspected Witches, whereby it is said that the fits or diseases of the bewitched do cease miraculously; as also concerning the burning of bewitched cattell, whereby it is said, that the Witch is miraculously compelled to present her selfe.

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Theſe, and the like, I thinke it vaine and needleſſe, particularly or ſingly to confute, becauſe it doth directly appeare, by their examination, according to the former rules produced againſt the naturalizing of the detection of Witches by caſting them into the water, that firſt they are excluded out of the number of things naturall: ſecondly, that being reputed as miracles, they will alſo be rather iuſtly iudged miracles of the Diuell, then of God, by the former reaſons which haue ſtripped the ſuppoſed miraculous detection of Witches by the water, of any hopefull opinion that they can be of God.

Nor doth our law now in force, differ here from reiecting ſuch like miraculous trialls. See the triall by *Ordell* abolished by Parliament the third yeare of *Henry* the third, *Coke 9. Rep. Caſe Abbot de Strata Mercella Fol.* 33.

CHAP. XV.

The exploration of Witches, by ſupernaturall reuelations in the bewitched, by ſignes and ſecret markes, declared by the bewitched, to be in the body of the ſuſpected Witch, by the touch of the Witch curing the touched bewitched.

THere remaine as yet other miraculous explorations of a Witch, carrying in their firſt view a far more wondred repreſentation then any or all the former explorations. One is, when perſons bewitched, ſhall in the time of their ſtrange fits or traunces nominate or accuſe a Witch, and for a true teſtimony againſt him, or her, thus nominated, ſhall reueale ſecret markes in his or her body, neuer before ſeene or knowne by any creature; nay, the very words or workes, which the ſuppoſed, or thus nominated Witch ſhall be acting or ſpeaking in farre diſtant places, euen in the very moment and point of time, while they are in acting or ſpeaking; all which I haue ſometimes my ſelfe heard and ſeene prooued true. This is reputed a certaine

conuiction of a witch. Another miraculous tryal of a Witch and like vnto this, wonderfull is; when a suppos'd Witch acquired by the bewitched, doth touch him or her (though when vnknowne or vnperceiued by the bewitched themselues,) yet according to the prediction of that issue by the bewitched, he or shee immediately are deliuered from the present fit or agony, that then was vpon him or her, which I haue also my selfe seene. For the better discouery of truth in these so wondered difficulties, let vs first recall to minde these few obseruations in our former Treatise determined and prooued. First, that the Diuell doth many miraculous and supernaturall things meerely simply and alone of himselfe, for his owne ends, and without the instigation or association of a Witch. This was made manifest by his conference, disputation and speech with *Eua* after a miraculous manner, out of the body of the Serpent, when as yet neither Witch, nor Witch-craft were come into the world. Secondly, that the Diuell is able to obtrude or impose his supernaturall or miraculous workes vpon men, against their knowledge, liking, will, or affection, and being vnrequired. This is cleere by his translection of the body of our blessed Sauiour, as also by his violent casting of the bodies of the possessed, amongst the people mentioned in the Gospell. Thirdly, let vs not here forget specially, that hee is able to transmit and send vnto, or into men vnrequired, and without their desire or assent, secret powers, force, knowledge, illuminations, and supernaturall reuelations. This was prooued by the possessed in the Gospel, who from a secret and hidden reuelation and power, aboue and beyond themselues, were able to vtter that high mistery, as yet hidden from the world, that Iesus was the Sonne of the liuing God. This could not be knowne vnto them, by their owne reason or nature, being aboue and beyond all reason or nature, and by grace onely then begun to be reuealed vnto the blessed Disciples themselues. To thinke that the possessed could haue that knowledge equally with the Disciples by the same grace, were impious derogation from their Apostolicall

Apostolicall priuiledge and prerogatiue therein, vnto whom did properly belong the first fruits thereof alone.

This supernaturall reuelation therefore was transfused into the possessed by the Diuell, who could not be ignorant of the Lyon of *Iuda*, the mighty destroyer of his spirituall kingdome, long before the disciples were borne, or capable of knowledge. And thus hauing recalled these obseruations, from them doe issue these necessary inferences. First, that all supernaturall acts or works in men, are not to bee imputed vnto those men. Secondly, that for this cause those supernaturall workes, are onely to be imputed vnto men which the Diuell, according vnto contract or Couenant which those men doth practise and produce.

And for this cause, in the inquisition of Witch-craft, when we haue truely first detected an act, done by a spirituall and supernaturall force (because it is in all lawes iniurious, to accuse of any act, before it be certainely knowne the act hath beene committed) then, and not before, wee ought indeuour directly and necessarily to prooue the contract, consent, and affection of the person suspected, vnto, or in that supernaturall act, that being no lesse essentiall, to detect and discouer the true and vndoubted Witch; then the supernaturall act, being certainely apparent, doth vndoubtedly prooue the Diuell, and his power therein.

This equall regard, in case of Witch craft, ought to bee carefully ballanced, without which vaine and vnstable men shall euer at their lust and pleasure, vpon affections and passions, be priuiledged with impunity, to lay vniust imputations, and to vse wrongfull violence and oppression beyond all equitie, or reason.

When therefore men that are prudent, iudicious, and able to discerne, doe first aduisedly vpon good ground and reason, adiudge a supernaturall act euidently done, or at least worthy to be suspected: secondly, shall by iust and reasonable proofe, or at least liuely and faire presumption detect the contract, affection, or consent of any man in that act; then and not before, is the accusation, inquisition

and inditement of Witch-craft, against any man equall and iust.

For since a supernaturall worke can be truely and simply no act of a naturall man, and is the immediate hand and power of a Diuell (as is formerly prooued) it is the mans consent, contract and couenant alone, in the act with the Diuell, that being detected and discouered, doth infallibly and essentially prooue him a Witch, and not the act it selfe.

These obseruations, and considerations, first necessarily prefixed, let vs now proceed vnto the two former propounded experiments of the miraculous detection of Witches.

It is necessarily true, that it can solely proceed from a supernaturall power, that the bewitched are inabled in their traunces, to fore-tell the sequell of the supposed Witches touch: likewise, that the nominated Witch, shall accordingly by her touch immediately free and dispossesse the Sicke or the bewitched of their agonies.

It is as necessarily true also, that it can solely proceed from a supernaturall power, that the bewitched are able in their traunces to nominate the most secret and hidden marks in the bodies of the suspected Witch, her present speech * and actions in farre distant places, and the like, but whether these miraculous Reuelations, with their answerable euents, ought to bee esteemed iust conuictions of the persons thus by a supernaturall finger, pointed out and noted; as also whether they proceede of God or of the Diuell, is very materiall, to examine and consider.

If they proceede from God, their end, their extraordinary necessitie and vse, bent solely vnto the immediate speciall glory, or extraordinary glorification of God therein, will euidently declare.

What more extraordinary glorification of God can be pretended in the needfulnesse of a miraculous detection of Witch-craft, then of any other sinne committed, as immediately

* Herein the Diuell affecteth to imitate the power of God in his holy Prophet, who was able by his diuine reuelation to make known what the King spake in his Priuy Chamber. 2. Kings verse 12. cap. 6. He herein also counterfeiteth the Diuinitie of our Sauiour, seeing Nathaniel, when he was vnder the Figge-tree. Ioh. 1. 49.

mediately against God, and with as high an hand? Witchcraft is indeed one kinde of horrid renunciation, and forsaking of God, but there are many more kinds much more hellish then this secret and concealed defection: as the open cursings, wilfull blasphemings, and spitefull railings vpon God, euen vnto his face, professed hatred and contempt of God.

Among many Offendors in these kindes, after their owne long prouoking continuance therein, and Almighty God his vnspeakeable long suffering and patience: some few sometimes haue been made hideous spectacles and examples vnto the rest, of the infinite power and iustice of God, his vnsufferable displeasure, indignation and direfull reuenging wrath. In this number was, for some time *Nebuchadnezer*, and *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, and in later times *Iulian* the *Apostata*, and others the like. Many other as high Blasphemers, and despisers of God, notwithstanding haue been permitted to escape any such miraculous punishments, or fearefull notorious exposings vnto the worlds view.

Rabshakeh, railing on the liuing God, in the open view and hearing of the men of *Israel*, and *Olofernes* denying the God of heauen, were not miraculously, or by any immediate hand of God smitten, but were suffered to grow on, vntill their haruest of confusion was ripe. That high degree of blasphemie against the Sonne of the liuing God, hanging vpon the Crosse for the sinnes of mankinde, committed by the cruell and hard-hearted Iewes, in scorning, scoffing, and spitefull derision both of God in heauen, *Matth.* 27, *verse* 43. and also of the eternall Sauiour of the world, descended from heauen, was not by God then extraordinarily reuenged (as the incomparable greatnesse of the sinne might seeme to require) but was in Almighty God his iust iudgement, suffered, vntill in the due time, their owne execrations, and cursings of themselues, and their posterity, thereby to hasten and purchase the effusion of that holy innocent bloud, did fall vpon them so heauily, that their whole

Nation, People, and Kingdome, became extirpate, vile, and vagabond for euer vpon the face of the earth. It is recorded in the *Reuelation, chap.* 13. *verse* 5, 6, 7. concerning the Beast, that he opened his mouth vnto blasphemy against God, his Tabernacle, and the Saints; that he spake great mighty blasphemies, yet power was giuen vnto him to continue, and preuaile therein many yeares, and a large space of time.

By these few examples it is euident, that neither the height, the nature, the quantitie, nor the qualitie, of the most abominable, or prouoking sinne, most odious vnto God and men, doth vsually, or alwaies draw downe from heauen vpon it selfe a miraculous immediate hand of Gods wrath. We may easily instance the like, concerning the sin of witch-craft, which is our particular subiect.

Although by the hand of his holy seruant Saint *Paul*, Almighty God did miraculously smite the Sorcerer *Elymas*, & as writers report, *Simon Magus*, by the hand of S^t. *Peter*, multitudes and societies of other Sorcerers, and Southsayers among the *Caldeans*, escaped not onely the hands of *Nebuchadnezer*, in his wrath; but as it seemeth in the prophecy of *Daniel*, they liued many yeares in high esteeme, fame, and renowne, both in their owne Nation, and also in forreine Countreyes, yea through the world. There is no doubt, that *Ægypt* likewise did abound with swarmes of Sorcerers, as the holy Scripture, and all times and writers report. Among the people of God also, the Israelites, it is manifest that diuers Sorcerers and Witches did shrowd themselues, and liued with impunity, as appeareth by the Witch of *Endor*, which king *Saules* seuerity, in their generall extirpation thorow the whole kingdome, had notwithstanding passed by, and left vnespied; as also by that special note and commendations, from Gods owne mouth and word of *Iosua*, that is, that hee had taken away from amiddest his people, all the Enchanters and Sorcerers: by which it is likely and cannot be denied, that through the lenitie or carelessnesse of former Princes, they formerly had long securely

curely their breathed. That God doth not vſe by miracle to detect all, or moſt Enchanters, Magicians, or Witches, is farther made vndoubted; becauſe it ſhould follow then & thence neceſſarily, that he hath both in the firſt ages of the world, ordained lawes, and ordinary, legall courſes of proceeding againſt them in vaine; as alſo for that he doth, in the holy records of his ſacred word, make knowne his Decree, that they ſhall be permitted to liue and continue vpon the face of the earth among other, and as other vnrepentant ſinners, vntill his ſecond comming, and the laſt day of eternall doome, *Reuelat. chap. 22. verſ. 15.* without ſhall be Enchanters. If his iuſtice and ſeuere iudgement ſhould by his miraculous power make ſo narrow ſearch amongſt them, as ordinarily to root them out, it were impoſſible any one of them ſhould eſcape his all-ſeeing reuengefull hand, to ſuruiue vnto his generall decreed day of ſentence, and dreadfull doome, of all kinde of ſinnes and ſinners, which both in iuſtice vnto ſome, and mercy vnto other ſome, his infinite goodneſſe and wiſdome hath decreed, ſhall not be fruſtrate. Although therfore Almighty God doth ſometimes ſtretch forth his mighty hand miraculouſly to ſmite, or bring into light ſome horrid ſinnes and ſinners, his extraordinary power therein ſometimes onely extended, at his owne good will and pleaſure, doth not iuſtifie the preſumptuous expectation of the diſpenſation thereof in any particular. God who is the God of order, and not of confuſion, doth not ordinarily diſpenſe his extraordinary workes, nor vſually confound indifferently, ſo different natures in their end and vſe, and his owne decree. Nature it ſelfe doth alſo teach an impoſſibility in that which is extraordinary, to become or be expected ordinary. In that way which is ordinary, the induſtruous, the diligent, the prouident man therefore doth with carefull perſeuerance vprightly walke. The ſlothfull, onely the intemperate, the improuident man, either by folly or ignorance loſeth or by ille ſloth forgetteth, or omitteth, his ordinary way or opportunity, and ridiculouſly hopeth or truſteth vnto

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the redemption thereof, by extraordinary contingents or euents.

Thus it hath appeared, that in regard of any more speciall or extraordinary glorification of God, in the detection of Witches, rather then of other as great and as abominable sinners, their is no needfull or necessary vse of mytacles.

The second consideration was, whether they are not rather of the Diuell, then of God, as also, how they may be any iust conuictions of the supposed or suspected guilty.

Wee will first herein examine the touch of the supposed Witch, immediatly commanding the cessation of the supposed fits of the bewitched. That this is a false or Diabolicall miracle and not of God, may be iustly doubted.

First, because the holy and blessed power of working miracles (among which, the healing the Sicke or the possessed was not the least) was neuer of God dispensed, to haunt or follow the touch of wicked men, or Sorcerers or Witches.

Secondly, for that the true miracles of God (which were euer dispensed, either for the common good of his Church, or the declaration of his glorious truth, or for the extraordinary punishment and destruction of euill men) did neuer obscurely, or indirectly, prooue themselues or their ends, but in their manifestation were inabled to ouer-shine cleerely, all the fogges and mists of doubt or question.

The contrary hereunto in this our suspected miracle is manifest, wherein is ridiculously imagined, that the blessed gift and vertue of healing the sicke, descended from God aboue, may be reputed in the hands of a Witch a signe or testimony of his or her guilt and impiety, which euer hath beene, and is in it selfe a speciall grace and fauour of God, and was euer vsed rather as a confirmation of the truth of Gods Ministers and seruants. Let vs now consider how this miraculous touch and the efficacy thereof, may be any iust conuiction of a Witch. No man can doubt that the vertue wherewith this touch was indued, was supernaturall. If it be supernaturall, how can man, vnto whom nothing sim-

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ply is possible, that is not naturall, bee iustly reputed any proper Agent therein? If hee cannot bee esteemed in himselfe any possible or true Agent, then it remaineth, that hee can onely bee interessed therein, as an accessary in consent; as a Solicitor or Tenant vnto a superiour power. If that superiour power (as is before prooued in the falsehood of his miracle) be the Diuell, the least reasonable doubt remaining whether the Diuell alone, or with the consent or contract of the suspected person hath produced that wonderfull effect: with what Religion or reason can any man rather incline to credit the Diuels information in the mouth of the bewitched (who is the common accuser of God to men, and of men to God) then in requisite pittie, pietie, and humane respect vnto his owne kinde to tender the weakenesse of fraile man, against the subtilty of the deceitfull Diuel. Shall man with man find lesse fauour, then the Diuell with man against man? That the Diuell is able by the permission of God, to annex or hang this miracle vpon this or that particular, is manifest, by the possessed in the Gospell; vpon whom and their naturall actions and motions, he cast supernaturall consequences or concomitances. Was not their speech attended with supernaturall reuelation, their hands with supernaturall force, to rend and teare in pieces iron chaines and bonds? If the Diuell be able to transfuse, or cast these miraculous concomitances or consequences alone, and without allowance of any man or person where God doth permit; how is it in any equity or reason iust, that these impositions of the Diuell should be imputed vnto any man? God forbid, that the Diuels signes and wonders, nay his truths should become any legall allegations or euidences in lawe. We may therefore conclude it vniust, that the forenamed miraculous effects by the Diuell wrought and imputed by the bewitched, should be esteemed a signe or infallible marke against any man, as therefore conuinced a Witch, for that the Diuel and the bewitched haue so deciphered him. These like miraculous stratagems may be exercised vpō any man,

or vnto any mans actions may be deceitfully or fraudulently by the Diuell conioined or apted. This therefore doth not inferre any mans guilt therein. It ought be a mans owne proper contract therein with the Diuell, necessarily and directly proued, that shall iustly condemne him. This contract may be and is plainly detected, by sifting and considering, that mans voluntarily assisting or promoting, promising, or vndertaking such supernaturall workes, with answerable performance thereof. As hath beene said, concerning the miraculous consequence of the touch of a suspected Witch; so may be determined concerning the supernaturall reuelations of secret markes or signes in her body, according vnto the prediction of the bewitched, as also of the discouery of the present actions, gestures, and speeches of supposed Witches in farre distant places. Diuers examples I my selfe haue seene in these kinds: I must necessarily acknowledge a more then natural power therein, because farre beyond the nature, reason, or power of man. But there is notwithstanding sufficient matter of doubt, whether such reuelations, secret signes, and marks, though found in the named persons or parts true, as also the right pourtraitures & shapes of the supposed or accused Witches, though neuer of the bewitched before seene, and yet by the bewitched truely described; there is, I say, notwithstanding, sufficient matter of doubt, whether they are not very insufficient to charge or accuse any particular thus pointed out or marked. The Law and expresse commandement of God doth allow of no reuelation from any other Spirit, but from himselfe, *Isa.* 8. 19. Whether these reuelations are immediately of God, if their due examination by the rule of his Word * doe not clearely determine, rash or hasty perturbation or passion ought not presume it. The lawes of men also admit no supernaturall illuminations or reuelations, as any grounds of iust tryals or decisions of right or truth. It follows therefore necessarily, that they are voide, & ought to be of no force or credit in vpright iudgement with iust and righteous men. It may bee obiected, that

* ESTIN AMARTIA ANOMIA. Quicquid non congruit cum lege, peccatum est.

that truth is found in these reuelations, and truth ought be of regard. It may hereto againe bee replied, that although truth in it selfe be great, and ought and will preuaile; yet in the abuse, euill vse, or corrupted, or depraued end thereof, it ought not deceiue nor is of force. The Diuell, as all other cunning lyers and deceiuers and imitators of that his art, vsually mixe truths with lyes, that those truths giuing credit vnto lyes, men may beleeue both and so be deceiued. It was euer the onely safe way of lying, to face and guard it with some plausible truths. In the former reuelations therefore, representations and true descriptions in the bewitched, of persons of secret markes and signes, of speeches, gestures, and the like, although the Diuell be found true, or speaking truth, yet may he notwithstanding haply bee therein also a lyer, while truly describing their persons, shapes, markes, manners and gestures, speeches and the like, he falsely and lyingly addeth thereby a seeming or deceiuing necessity of their guilt, as if therein or thereby necessarily inferred. The fallicy illusion and the lyingly true reuelations of the Diuell, may by many examples be manifested. *Ianus Iacobus Boissardus in his tract. de Diuinatione Chap. 5.* reporteth an admirable story of a noble Gentleman his familiar friend, and knowne vnto himselfe. This man flying from his owne natiue Countrey for feare of punishment for a murther by him committed, and liuing in farre distant coasts, desired curiously to enquire what his wife was in his absence doing, whom hee had (being very faire young and beautifull) married two monethes onely before his departure or voluntary exile. For this purpose he came vnto a Magitian liuing in the place of exile, who liuely described vnto him the true fashion, building, and ornaments of his house where his wife in his absence liued, her apparrell, countenance, &c the like, as they were perfectly foreknowne vnto himselfe. He farther expecting to learne what she was at that present instant doing. The Magitian made knowne that there was then in her company a beautifull young

man with his hose or breeches about his heeles standing neere or close vnto her. Vpon the knowne truth of the *Magicians* his first description of his house and wife, the gentleman assuring himselfe of the truth of the second description of seeming manifest adultrey in her, secretly stealeth home with an absolute resolution by murdering of her to be reuenged, & comming home by stealth neere vnto th place where his house & her dwelling was, by a ring (which as an infallible testimonie of her true loue she had deliuered vnto him at his departure) he immediately caused her to come vnto him. Her kinde and louing intertainement so qualified and mollified his intended rage and fury, that he had patience first to confer with her, which before his sight of her, he did not intende. After her conference he demaunded whether such a day (naming the certaine day) she did not weare apparrel of such a colour and fashion. She answered with wonder that it was true. He againe demaunded what that was which she smothed and handled in her hand, and who that young man was which stood neere her with his hose about his heeles. She hereat amazed and perceauing the sodaine change of a fierce and cruell looke in her husband, desired him to be pacified and better informed. The young man was his owne brother who could witnesse the truth thereof, and that which she smoothed or stroked in her hand was a plaister which she did smooth for him and applyed vnto his hip, where he had a very greiuous and painefull vlcer. This being found true, the husband sorrowed for his bloudy intention, and detested the execrable and damnable Art of the *Magician*, and the foule lying truth of the Diuell. How foulely likewise many other men by these like darke and double dealing truthes, equiuocations, and amphobologies, haue beene deceaued consulting with the diuell and his oracles may be by many other examples testified. The same Author mentioneth the oraculous reuelation by dreame presented vnto the daughter of *Polycrates* of *Samos*. It was reuealed vnto her that her father should be taken vp into heauen, be washed

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by *Iupiter* and annointed by the Sun. This after proued true but in a dreaming sense. For *Polycrates* being surprised by *Orantes*, was hanged vp toward heauen vpon an high Crosse, where *Iupiter* (that is the ayre) with his moisture did wash him, and the Sun melting his grease and the substance of his flesh did so annoint him as was least imagined or suspected. *Plutarke* in the life of *Anniball* reporteth that *Anniball* consulted with the oracle concerning his owne reserued destiny or end. The oracle answered that *Libissa* land should burie his corpes. Hereupon he presumed that he should returne into that his owne countrey and therein his old age die. He grewe therefore secure and careles. But shortly afterward being taken by the *Romanes* in a little obscure village by the sea coast called by the name of *Libissa*, he there grewe wearie of his life and poysoned himselfe. In the Diuels truth behold vntruth and deceipt. *Libissa* buried *Anniball*, but not *Libissa* by *Anniball* either knowne or possible to be imagined. These examples are sufficient whereby is plainely seen the dangerous deceitfull fallacy of the diuel euen where he speaketh truth. Let vs now returne againe vnto our former miraculous prediction of the Diuell by the mouth of the bewitched concerning the cure of the bewitched by the touch of the supposed Witch. We may boldly affirme that in this case or in any other, if it were possible for the diuell to speake the truth, truely, wholly, vnpartially; so as it might appeare plaine, euident, manifest; yet ought we not from him beleeue it or receiue it. This is our blessed Sauiour made vndoubted, who in the Gospell oft rebuked him euen speaking truth, as also in S. *Paul* rebuking the Pythonisse, truely affirming, and acknowleiging him the seruant and Minister of God. If the diuell then speaking truth, may not be allowed or credited; how shall reuelations, miracles or oracles proceeding from him, be they neuer so true, or approued with any shew of true Religion or reason, become any iust probations or allegations in law, equity or iustice? it may be obiected, that many times men haue bin by dreames and visions admonished

shed of secret and concealed hideous murders, and other euill facts committed priuily, whereby the Malefactors and their guilt haue bin admirably produced vnto due punishment. This truth is euen by Heathen Authors witnessed, and in our time the like haue happned, and is testified by witnesses, whose faith and credit is free from all exception. Although this be true and cannot be denied, some reasons notwithstanding doe perswade that it is more safe to incline, to suspect that these like visions or dreames are rather of the Diuell, then rashly to determine or decree that they are immediately of God. First, for that though haply they might be sometimes so granted, yet ought we not too swiftly or sodainly so beleeue, for that by the liuely counterfait of the true visions, dreames and reuelations of God, the Diuell hath euer vsually practised to be taken and esteemed as God: the allowance whereof by men is high blasphemy against God, and ignorant occult adoration of Diuels. Secondly, for that no visions, dreames, or reuelations, ought to be esteemed of God, originally or immediately, which doe respect or answere curiositie of knowledge or desire, as most of the forementioned kinds vsually are wont. Thirdly, for that the visions of God, as they are euer bent vnto an extraordinary diuine end, and an vniuersall good, so are they euer dispensed by the ministery of men, who haue manifest commission, or warrant from God, either mediate, or immediate. The mediate is prooued by the manifestation of the meanes: the immediate, by the euident reflexion of a manifest diuinity, in the power and authority thereof. For as it is said of the word of God, *Heb.* 4 *verse* 12. so must it necessarily be concluded of all the true miracles, visions, or reuelations of God, that they are liuely, and mighty in operation.

This is seene in the miracles wrought by *Moses*, which the Sorcerers themselues could not deny to bee the finger of God, *Gen.* 8. *verse* 19. This is likewise seene in

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Simon Magus, who could not but acknowledge the miraculous power of the holy Ghost, by the laying on of the Apostles hands, so far forth that in the consideration of his owne guilt, and of a conuincing power or deitie therein, he desired them to pray for him.

The same is also witnessed in the seruants of the high Priests who being sent with wicked malice, and cursed preiudice to intrap and betray our Sauiour, were by the miraculous power of his word and workes compelled to proclaime and confesse; *No man euer spake like this man.* All these notes or markes, of the true visions, dreames, or reuelations of God, are euer generally, or for the most part wanting in the forementioned kinds, which being neuer free from some suspitious note of godly iealousie, therefore ought not but with much doubt and difficulty be at any time admitted. It may bee as yet further obiected. How can it otherwise bee deemed, then that God himselfe is the Author of the former reuelations, since they tend vnto his glory in the detecting and punishing of so hideous sinnes? It is hereto answered, that Almighty God is able to vse and command euill instruments vnto good ends. He hath ordained the Diuell himselfe to be the common accuser of all sinnes and sinners. It is therefore no inconuenience nor repugnant vnto religion or reason, to affirme, that the Diuell himselfe, in the forementioned visions or dreames, by the commandement or permission of God, is the producer of the fore-mentioned murders, euill facts, vnto light and iudgement. God for his owne glory permitteth the Diuell by these his wonderfull reuelations, to detect the named sinnes and sinners. The Diuell also for his owne end, and desire of their destruction, doth execute the Decree of God for their iust punishment.

But here may be obiected againe, that the Diuell

in his reuelations (as is before mentioned) is not to be beleeued or credited, although he ſpake truth. How then may men be allowed, to admit or make vſe of theſe his viſions or dreames in this kinde.

It is hereto replyed, Almighty God himſelfe doth both permit and heare the Diuell when hee accuſeth, as is manifeſt by holy Scriptures. Therefore among men, and by men alſo, his accuſations may be heard and conſidered. Notwithſtanding, ſince hee is oft a falſe Accuſer, and the enemy of God and truth, hee may not bee credited in himſelfe, no nor truth it ſelfe ſimply as in his mouth. Vpon his accuſation therefore, if truth and certainety doe declare it ſelfe, the force and vertue thereof, and not the accuſation doth conduct, vpright men and minds, vnto proceeding and iudgement; it is not the Diuels accuſation, but the truth it ſelfe, vnto which haply that accuſation did point inquiſition, that by it ſelfe made manifeſt, is therefore credited.

And thus with breuity hath the vanity both of all ſuperſtitious, and alſo of all miraculous waies of the detection of Witches and Witch-craft, beene in ſome few of their particulars generally vnmasked. There are, and may bee many more beſides theſe, which in theſe, and with theſe, will likewiſe periſh and vaniſh, being by the ſame rule and reaſon compelled vnto the golden tryall of ſincere religion and affection.

The ſole, true and warranted way, wherein vprightly men may walke herein before God and men, hath beene in this Treatiſe formerly diſquired and diſcourſed. Therein (intelligent Reader) thou maiſt obſerue two ſorts of manifeſt Witches: The one is offered vnto the outward ſenſe, in his apparent and palpable Sorcerous workes: The other is made euident by plaine demonſtration out of the ſacred word of

of truth. It hath euer preuailed with vulgar cuſtome (becauſe moſt ſenſible of the moſt groſſe harmes more open to ſenſe) to caſt chiefely, or for the moſt part, the eye and common iealouſie vpon the firſt kinde. The other kinde (becauſe vſually leſt noted of ſenſe, and therefore eſteemed leaſt harmefull to men) is both in the iuſt protraction or production thereof vnto the barre of Iuſtice much more rare and ſeldome, and alſo in common and vulgar obſeruation is little or not at all conſidered.

Hence it proceedeth, that moſt men doe doubtfully reſolue thereof; Yea, ſome men admire a worth therein, others eſteeeme it of reaſonable and commendable vſe, vnto the ſatisfaction of their curioſities, in things ſecret and hidden from the knowledge of man.

But ſince Almighty God hath more ſpecially (as is in the former Treatiſe prooued) both giuen moſt certaine and plaine indication, and information of this kinde, by the expreſſed fruites thereof, and the neceſſary inference of familiarity and conſultation with other Spirits then himſelfe, *Iſaiah* 8. *verſe* 19. and hath alſo ſo oft in ſo diuers places iterated the great abomination, and his high deteſtation thereof, it is not onely the ſauing ducty of all priuate men to take more diligent and wary notice thereof, thereby to eſchew and flye from it, according vnto Gods expreſſe charge and command; but it is the charge of Princes and Magiſtrates alſo, to fulfill thereby the commanded execution of Gods holy wrath and vengeance vpon it; for which pleaſing ſeruice and ſacrifice vnto him, Almighty God hath vpon the euerlaſting records of his holy word fixed for euer the ſo memorable praiſe, and commendation of thoſe famous Princes, who haue dedicated themſelues vnto his will therein. As it hath beene declared by

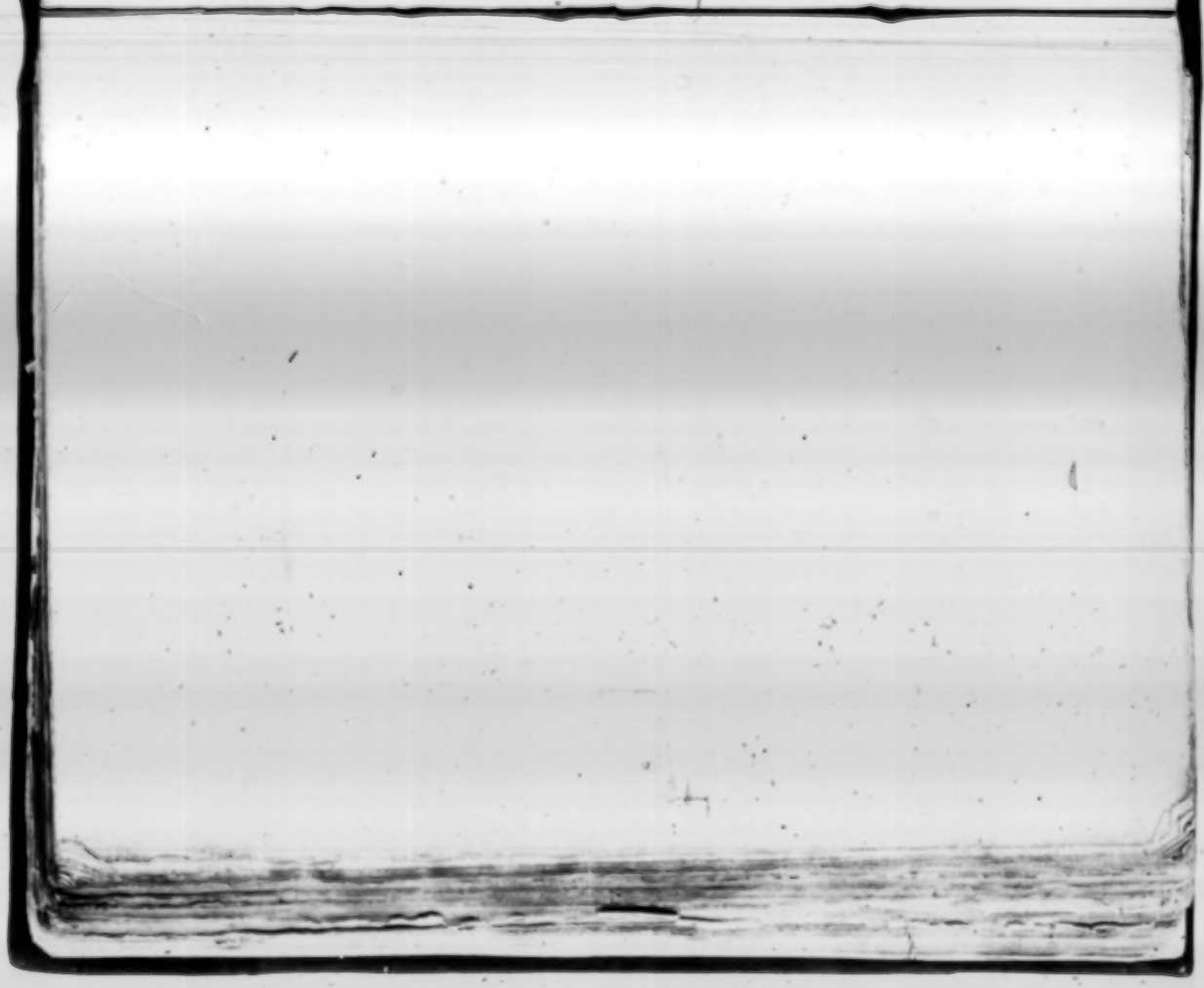
what meanes Witches and Sorcerers, in two kindes ſeuerally may be manifeſtly charged, challenged, and prooued as certaine and vndoubted Offendors: ſo alſo how farre preſumption probabilities, or matter of iuſt ſuſpition in both may blameleſly guide, and conduct vpright and equall inquiſition, hath beene briefely inſtanced. From all which it is euident: firſt, that God in nature hath not ſhut vp in this ſubiect, the common intrance and doore of iudging, trying or deciding as equally, as in other caſes: ſecondly, that beſide and beyond that way, which God hath left open vnto ſenſible and reaſonable progreſſe, herein it muſt neceſſarily bee prepoſterous preſumption to breake out, or ouer-reach, as alſo inſteade of that plaine approoued and authentike walke for the tryalls of truth; the iudgement and condemnation of others, and the eſtabliſhment of mens owne thoughts, and mindes, to ſeeke irreligious footing, in the *Labyrinth* of amazing wonderments, and reaſonleſſe traditions and experiments. To walke in theſe waies, is no better then to runne away from God, in whom to truſt, though with ſome reſtraint, and cóertion of our longing vaine deſires, and ſatisfactions, is truely farre more happy then out of the conduct of his allowance therein, to inioy the fulleſt meaſure or ouerflow of all the moſt obſequious influencies of humane bliſſe. If true religion and pietie could ſettle this conſideration, the common folly of miſgouerned, petulant, inordinate, and intemperate expatiations in this kinde, would not onely in priuate men more vſually bluſh and be aſhamed, but a more euen, ſtraight, and vninterrupted way, being prepared thereby vnto iuſtice, would vſually bring forth a much more happy iſſue, then now is ordinary. Thus farre the loue of truth, which I haue euer carefully ſought and ſtudied, hath offered violence

vnto

vnto my priuate thoughts and meditations, expoſing them vnto the hazard of publike view.

As my labour is not loſt vnto my ſelfe, and my owne more confirmed ſatisfaction thereby: ſo if there be therein any good vnto the common good, I know, good men will not for the thorne, refuſe the fruite, for defect of elegance in ſtile, or obſcurity of worth in the Author, quarrell with the matter it ſelfe.

FINIS.



The Errata.

BY the Authors diſtance and remoteneſſe from the preſſe, and by the reaſonable countermaund of his preſence thereby the vnindeſirous vigence of his calling fixing him elſe-where: theſe errours following (before they could be knowne vnto him) had ouer-runne his power of their reuocation. Of thoſe errours which common ſenſe and every vulgar ſcholerſhip may eaſily and tacitly vnto it ſelfe in reading rectifie, he he doth eaſe the Reader in this place, namely, of ſlight falſe orthographies, of ſome ſenſe-eſſe diſcontinuations, of requiſite continuations of ſome ſyllables, words, lines, and ſentencies, the legges and feete of ſome verſes out of Poets cited beyond their due meaſure, line and length extended within the proſe, the diſlocating of ſome commaes, prickes, and full pomes. Thoſe errours only which doe more materially exact their reformation (for that they doe manifeſtly hood-winke the ſenſe, and ouer-cloude the cleere ſight and vnderſtanding) he hath hither ſum moned.

In the ſubſcription of the Dedicatorie Epiſtle vnto the Iudges in the firſt Edition, reade dutious for deuotious. In the Printers preface vnto the Reader in the ſecond edition, Chap. 7. fig. 4. and thence line 4, reade, to be eſteemed Witches, not, to be eſteemed. Witches. Page 12. line 13. reade in for is. page 13. line 9. reade likewiſe when, for likewiſe. page 13. line 18. adde is much incourage. page 26. line 20. reade from the Diuell alſo, for from the Diuels; alſo page 42. line 31. reade enumeration. page 47. line 12. read for any man. page 47. line 20. reade For he thirſts. page 49. line 12. reade abiect for obiect. pag. 40. line 2. reade or pretence pag. 51 line 31. reade from the Friers pag. 52. line 33. reade acrem for verem. pag. 2. line 33. read confeſſionibus for confeſſio, and reſponſa for reſponſe. page 60. line 32. and 33. reade and Church and betweene, for Church. And betweene. page 61. line 1. reade at ceremonies a comma not a full point, and which not. Which page 61. line 25 reade conuince for conuince. pag. 66. line 22. reade in Phyſike for curation not in Phyſike For curation. pag. 68. line the laſt. reade of an infinite. page 74. line 8. reade were, for where. pag. 76 line 6. reade Practiſers. pag. 79. line 26. reade nature. The impoſſibilitie pag 88 line 5. reade effected for affected. pag 88 line 4 reade mediately for immediately. pag. 90. line 8. reade nature. Whether. p. 102. line 13. reade proceede to. pag 106 line 13. reade awaketh. pag 107. lin. 1. read againſt any other. pag. 110. line 32. reade falſe as ordinarie. pag. 149. line 31 10. reade, himſelfe. In the Diuels truth behold, not himſelfe in the Diuels truth behold.

Jacobb Beamans non sonr

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